

QUARKS TPSC

PUBLICATIONS • AGARTALA

• BOOK ONE | FOR TCS / TPS MAIN EXAMINATION •

MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA

GENERAL STUDIES PAPER -- II | SECTION A

Revolt of 1857 • Nationalism • Indian National Congress
Revolutionaries • Gandhi • Left Politics • Dalit Movements
Muslim League • Working Class • Women • Bose, INA, RIN
Tebhaga • Telangana • Partition & Independence

Prepared by

SUDIP LASKAR

Founder, Quarks TPSC

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Opposite of SDM Office, Office Lane, Agartala, Tripura

Contact: 7628954476

BOOK ONE | FOR TCS / TPS MAIN EXAMINATION

MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA

General Studies Paper -- II | Section A

*A Comprehensive, Source-Driven, PYQ-Integrated
Civil-Services Standard Reference for TCS / TPS Mains Aspirants*

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First Edition: 2026

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On sources and originality. The body of this book is original writing. Facts, dates and chronologies have been compiled and cross-checked against the standard reference works listed in the Bibliography. The text has been re-organised, re-sequenced and re-phrased throughout; no extended passage has been reproduced from any single source. Where direct verbatim quotation from a primary or scholarly source has been considered indispensable, the quotation is placed in a clearly demarcated *source box* or italicised pull-quote with attribution.

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*For the aspirants of Tripura,
who carry the dream of public service
into one of the most demanding
descriptive examinations of our state –
this book is offered with the conviction
that there is no shortcut to depth,
and no substitute for honest study.*

— SUDIP LASKAR —

PREFACE

MODERN History of India – the period from the closing decades of the eighteenth century to the early years of the Republic – carries an unusual weight in the TCS / TPS Main Examination's General Studies Paper-II. With *fifty marks* of the paper's one hundred and fifty allotted to Section A, it is the single largest section of the syllabus. Across the papers we have analysed (2019, 2021, 2023), questions of every variety have appeared in this section: factual MCQs on dates and personalities; analytical short-answer questions on causation; historiographical long-answer questions on the schools of interpretation; and, year after year, a Tripura-related question that requires the candidate to weave the national narrative into the regional one.

This book has been written from the conviction that Section A cannot be mastered by reading a single textbook – still less by collecting a handful of coaching handouts. It demands a study that moves with equal confidence across (i) the political-administrative chronology of British India; (ii) the ideological architecture of the freedom struggle; (iii) the historiographical debates that have re-shaped our reading of every major event; (iv) the cultural and intellectual currents that ran alongside the political movement; and (v) the regional textures of nationalism – including, for Tripura aspirants, the Manikya court's calibrated relationship with the larger Indian movement.

What this book is

- **A full-syllabus treatment of Section A.** All twelve syllabus heads – from the Revolt of 1857 to the Indian Independence Act 1947 – are treated in dedicated chapters of substantial depth. No topic is summarised; every topic is unpacked.
- **A source-driven study, written in original prose.** The facts, dates, chronologies and primary-source extracts that anchor the book have been compiled and cross-checked against the standard reference literature – Bipan Chandra's *History of Modern India* and *India's Struggle for Independence*; Sekhar Bandyopadhyay's *From Plassey to Partition and Beyond*; Sumit Sarkar's *Modern India 1885–1947*; R. C. Majumdar's *Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*; V. D. Savarkar's *Indian War of Independence*; Eric Stokes's *The Peasant Armed*; Anil Seal's *Emergence of Indian Nationalism*; Ranajit Guha's *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*; Rajiv Ahir's *A Brief History of Modern India* (Spectrum); and several specialist monographs. The interpretations, sequencing, comparative tables, diagrams, model answers and practice sets are original to this volume.
- **A PYQ-driven design.** Every chapter opens with a year-tagged PYQ box and

closes with model answers calibrated to the TCS examiner's word-limit and structure conventions. The PYQ trend analysis at the front of the book classifies every Section-A question in the available papers by sub-topic, marks, word-limit and difficulty – giving aspirants an evidence-based map of what to expect.

- **A Tripura-aware Indian history.** Princely Tripura under the Manikya kings was not a backwater of the freedom struggle but an interested observer with deep cultural and political linkages to Bengal, Bihar and the wider sub-continent. Each chapter carries a *Tripura Special* box that draws those linkages out – not in passing, but as a serious sub-topic.
- **A premium production.** The typography, infographics, comparative tables, timelines, mind-maps and chapter-end quick-revision sheets have been designed to match the standard of the best UPSC reference titles. Reading should feel like reading a book, not a stack of notes.

What this book is not

It is not a primer for ab-initio study. The reader is assumed to have engaged with NCERT-level Indian history at the secondary-school level and to be capable of working through a college-grade analytical text. Where unavoidably technical vocabulary appears – historiography, paramountcy, satyagraha, sub-altern – the terms are defined the first time they appear and are catalogued in the glossary at the back.

It is also not a substitute for the standard reference works it draws upon. For an aspirant who wishes to read more deeply on any topic, the bibliography at the end of this volume offers a curated set of next steps.

A note to the student

Reading is one half of preparation; writing is the other. No matter how richly a topic is understood, marks in the examination are awarded for the structure, sequence and clarity of what is set down on the answer sheet inside the seven-to-thirteen minutes a question affords. Every model answer in this book has been written under that real-time constraint in view. Read the answers, then close the book and *write* them yourself – by hand, on paper, against the clock. Only after this practical drill will the chapter have done its full work.

Sudip Laskar
Founder, Quarks TPSC
Agartala, 2026

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A book of this scope is never the work of a single hand.

I begin by acknowledging the intellectual debt I owe to the historians whose work has shaped my own reading of modern India – Bipan Chandra, Sumit Sarkar, Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, Romila Thapar, Irfan Habib, R. C. Majumdar, S. N. Sen, Anil Seal, Eric Stokes, Christopher Bayly, Rudrangshu Mukherjee, A. R. Desai, R. P. Dutt, Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, Shahid Amin, Geraldine Forbes, Tanika Sarkar and the many others cited in the bibliography. The interpretations offered in this volume are my own; the foundations – the long, patient labour of reading the colonial archive against itself – are theirs.

To my colleagues and faculty at **Quarks TPSC**, who carry the everyday work of the classroom – of arguing through a difficult historiographical paragraph with a student, of reading and re-reading mains answer-scripts, of identifying the recurrent confusions on which most aspirants stumble – I owe a particular debt. Many of the comparative tables, examiner-insight boxes and common-mistakes notes in this book were drafted in response to questions raised in those classroom hours.

To the aspirants of Tripura, past and present, who have walked through the doors of Quarks TPSC with their notebooks and their hopes, I owe the strongest debt of all. The framework of this book – the choice of topics emphasised, the depth on Tripura linkages, the recurring return to source quotations and model answers – has been determined by their honest questions over many sittings. This book is in a real sense their book.

To the team that assisted with copy-editing, fact-checking and visual design – and to the printers and binders who turned the manuscript into a publishable volume – I extend my warm thanks.

To my family, whose patience over the months of writing made the work possible, I cannot say enough.

Finally, to the institution of the public service and to the young men and women of Tripura who aspire to it: this book is offered with the hope that it will reach you, that it will be useful, and that it will, in some small way, repay the trust you have placed in us by sitting down with your books.

S. L.

ABOUT QUARKS TPSC

Quarks TPSC is a dedicated civil-services preparation institute based in Agartala, Tripura. The institute was founded with a single, focused mission — to give serious TCS/TPS aspirants of Tripura the same quality of structured coaching, written material and answer-writing mentorship that aspirants in the metropolitan UPSC hubs of Delhi, Pune and Hyderabad have long taken for granted.

Our Mission

To bridge the resource gap for TCS / TPS aspirants in Tripura by offering structured, syllabus-aligned, PYQ-integrated coaching across all three stages of the examination — Preliminary, Main and Interview.

Our Approach

Syllabus-first teaching. Every lecture, every test and every handout is mapped to a specific syllabus head. Nothing is taught for its own sake.

PYQ-driven practice. Aspirants do not solve random questions. They solve TCS / TPS papers, year by year, under timed conditions, with line-by-line evaluation of answer structure.

Tripura-rooted, India-aware. The state-specific portions of the syllabus are not delegated to a single hand-out. They are taught with the same depth as Modern Indian History, by faculty familiar with the regional archive and the latest state-level data.

Mentorship over mass coaching. Class sizes are deliberately kept small so that every written answer can be evaluated and every aspirant can be guided through their individual weak areas.

Programmes Offered

- Foundation Course for TCS / TPS Preliminary Examination
- Mains Course (GS Paper–I, II, III & IV; Essay; Optional)

- Test Series — Sectional, Full-length and Subject-wise
- Answer-Writing Workshops
- Interview Guidance & Mock Personality Tests
- Special Module on Tripura — History, Polity, Geography, Economy

The Quarks TPSC Sectional Reference Series

This volume – *Book 1: Modern History of India* – is the first in a five-volume sectional series for the GS Paper-II syllabus. The forthcoming volumes are:

- **Book 2:** History of Tripura – Reformative Era, Manikya Reforms, Tribal Uprisings, Merger.
- **Book 3:** Indian Socio-Cultural Heritage with Special Reference to Tripura.
- **Book 4:** Geography of India – Physical, Climate, Drainage, Population, Agriculture, Power, Industry.
- **Book 5:** Geography of Tripura – District-wise Physical and Economic Profile.

About the Author

Sudip Laskar is the Founder of Quarks TPSC. A long-time student and teacher of competitive examinations, he has personally taught hundreds of aspirants of Tripura towards their goal of joining the state civil services. His pedagogy combines academic rigour with examination craft — a balance learned from years of close reading of the TCS / TPS question bank and of the academic literature on Indian history, culture and geography. This book is the product of that classroom experience, distilled into print.

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HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

This book has been designed to be *worked through*, not merely *read through*. A passive reading will give an aspirant a useful overview; a disciplined working will give them the ability to walk into the examination hall and write a fifty-mark section with structure, depth and timing intact. This short note sketches how to convert this volume into actual marks.

The Architecture of the Book

Every chapter follows the same internal architecture. You can rely on the same landmarks chapter after chapter.

#	Element	Purpose
1	Chapter Opening Page	Set the visual and thematic frame.
2	Syllabus Mapping	Tells you what fraction of the syllabus the chapter covers.
3	PYQ Trend Analysis	Year-wise questions from the chapter, with marks pattern.
4	Importance for Exam	Why this chapter matters; expected weightage.
5	Conceptual Introduction	The big idea, in two or three paragraphs.
6	Detailed Theory	Full subject coverage, sub-section by sub-section.
7	Historiography / Scholarly Debate	Major schools, their authors, their arguments.
8	Important Personalities	Biographical thumbnails of the actors.
9	Tripura Perspective	How the topic plays out in the regional context.
10	Recent Relevance	Current affairs hooks, recent reports.
11	Key Terms	Glossary block within the chapter.
12	Timeline	Chronological scaffolding (visual).
13	Flowchart	Cause-effect or process diagram.
14	Tables	Comparative blocks, ruler tables, data sets.
15	Maps	Where geography or events are spatial.
16	Mind Maps	One-page synthesis.

#	Element	Purpose
17	Comparative Analysis	Cross-thinker, cross-state, cross-period.
18	Important Facts	Pre-mains revision pellets.
19	Value Addition Notes	Quotations, examples, data points.
20	Mains Enrichment Points	Bullet points targeting 10-mark answers.
21	PYQs with Solutions	Year-tagged, worked answers.
22	Sample Questions	Examiner-style, three difficulty bands.
23	Practice Questions	Untimed practice.
24	Model Answers	Fully-written specimen answers.
25	Examiner's Expectations	What evaluators look for.
26	Common Mistakes	The traps that cost marks.
27	Revision Notes	Crisp bullet summary.
28	Quick Revision Sheet	One-page recap, designed for D-7 revision.
29	Chapter Summary	Hundred-word abstract.
30	Chapter-end Exercises	Short-answer drill of factual recall.

A Suggested Study Plan

1. **First pass (Days 1–40).** Read each chapter cover-to-cover. Underline. Internalise the structure. Do not yet attempt to memorise data.
2. **Second pass (Days 41–60).** Work through the PYQs and sample questions in writing – in a notebook, on paper, in your own words. Compare against the model answers in the book.
3. **Third pass (Days 61–75).** Use only the *Quick Revision Sheets* and the *Key Terms* blocks. Test your recall.
4. **Final pass (Last week before exam).** Use the consolidated timeline, glossary and three mock tests at the back of the book.

Reading the Boxes

- **Blue boxes** (PYQ) – Direct questions from past papers, tagged by year.
- **Gold boxes** (Revision Capsule) – Crisp recall material; use these in the last week.
- **Maroon boxes** (Examiner's Insight) – What the evaluator is actually looking for.
- **Green boxes** (Tripura Special / Source) – The regional dimension and source extracts. Never skip these.
- **Grey boxes** (Value Addition) – Quotations, data, scholars; use them to elevate your answers.

Writing the Answer

Writing in the exam is its own skill, distinct from reading. No amount of reading will substitute for the discipline of producing 150 words in 7 minutes, or 280 words in 13 minutes. Every model answer in this book has been written with that real-time constraint in view. Read the answers, then *write them yourself*, with a timer, with no source open. Then go back and compare. This is the single highest-yield study habit an aspirant can develop.

— *Sudip Laskar*

THE SECTION A SYLLABUS -- A CLOSE READING

This chapter reproduces the official syllabus of **Section A – Modern History of India** of GS Paper-II, and offers a topic-by-topic close reading of what each head means, what depth the TCS / TPS examiner expects, and where each topic is treated in this book.

Section-A: Modern History of India (50 Marks)

1. Revolt of 1857 – Causes, Effects, Historiography.

Close reading: The 1857 syllabus head is the most expansive of the section. “Causes” includes political (Subsidiary Alliance, Doctrine of Lapse, Awadh annexation), economic (revenue settlements, deindustrialisation), social-religious (sati abolition, Religious Disabilities Act, missionaries), military (General Service Enlistment Act, Enfield cartridge) and immediate triggers (Mangal Pandey). “Effects” includes the Government of India Act 1858, the Queen’s Proclamation, military reorganisation, princely policy, drain intensification, racial separation. “Historiography” demands familiarity with the colonialist (Lawrence, Kaye), nationalist (Savarkar, Majumdar), Marxist (Khalidun, P.C. Joshi), Cambridge (Bayly, Stokes) and Subaltern schools. [Chapter 1]

2. Growth of Indian Nationalism: Historiography, Causes, Growth of Organization, Press and Literature in Nineteenth Century India.

Close reading: Multiple sub-heads in one. “Historiography” here refers to the schools of interpretation on Indian nationalism (Imperialist, Nationalist, Marxist, Cambridge, Subaltern). “Causes” covers political-administrative, economic, social-religious, educational, ideological. “Growth of organization” is the pre-Congress associations: Landholders’ Society (1838), British Indian Association (1851), East India Association (1866), Indian Association (1876), Madras Mahajana Sabha (1884), Bombay Presidency Association (1885). “Press” demands familiarity with *Sambad Kaumudi* (1821), *Hindu Patriot*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Hindu*, *Kesari*, *Mahratta*, *Bande Mataram*, *Yugantar*, the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, and the Press Act of 1910. “Literature” covers Bankim Chandra’s *Anandamath*, Tagore’s *Gora*, Dinabandhu Mitra’s *Nil Darpan* and the larger Indian-language renaissance. [Chapter 2]

3. **Indian National Congress: Formation, Moderates and Extremists.**

Close reading: Foundation of the INC (28 December 1885, Bombay, W.C. Bonnerjee, 72 delegates) and the safety-valve debate; the Moderate generation (Naoroji, Banerjee, Mehta, Gokhale, Ranade, Dutt) and their constitutional-petitionary politics; the Extremist generation (Lal-Bal-Pal, Aurobindo) and the Swadeshi-Boycott programme; Curzon's repression and the Partition of Bengal (1905); the Surat Split (1907); the Lucknow Pact (1916). [*Chapter 3*]

4. **Revolutionary Activities: Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra.**

Close reading: Three regional centres. Maharashtra – Chapekar brothers (1897), Tilak's festivals, Savarkar's Abhinav Bharat (1904), India House. Bengal – Anushilan Samiti (1902), Yugantar (1906), Khudiram Bose's bomb (1908), Alipore Bomb Case (1908–09), Rashbehari Bose's Delhi bomb (1912), Surya Sen's Chittagong Armoury Raid (1930), Pritilata Waddadar (1932). Punjab – Ghadar Party (1913), Komagata Maru (1914), Lahore Conspiracy (1915), HRA Kakori (1925), HSRA, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Chandrashekhar Azad. Tribal – Birsa Munda's Ulgulan (1899–1900); Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act 1908. Overseas – India House, Madame Cama, Berlin Committee. [*Chapter 4*]

5. **Rise of Gandhi: South African Experience, Satyagraha, Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, Quit India Movements.**

Close reading: South Africa 1893–1915 (Natal Indian Congress, Empire Theatre satyagraha 1906, Hind Swaraj 1909, Gandhi-Smuts 1914). India – Champaran (1917), Ahmedabad (1918), Kheda (1918). Rowlatt-Jallianwala (1919). NCM (1920–22 to Chauri Chaura). CDM (Salt March 1930 to suspension 1934, with Gandhi-Irwin 1931, RTC II 1931, Communal Award 1932, Poona Pact 1932). Individual Satyagraha 1940–41. Quit India 1942 (parallel governments, underground leadership). [*Chapter 5*]

6. **Alternative Ideologies and Practices: Left Wing Politics.**

Close reading: M. N. Roy and the CPI in Tashkent (1920); Kanpur Bolshevik Conference (1925); WPPs of the mid-1920s; Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929–33); Congress Socialist Party (1934); All India Kisan Sabha (1936); Forward Bloc (1939); RSP (1940); the three peasant uprisings – Tebhaga (Bengal 1946–47), Telangana (Hyderabad 1946–51), Punnappa-Vayalar (Travancore 1946). [*Chapter 6*]

7. **Dalit Movements – Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.**

Close reading: Bombay – Phule's Satyashodhak Samaj (1873), Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, Ambedkar (Bahishkrit Hitakarini 1924, Mahad 1927, Kalaram 1930, ILP 1936, SCF 1942, Poona Pact 1932, Buddhist conversion 1956). Madras – Sri Narayana Guru and the SNDP Yogam (1903), Vaikom Satyagraha (1924–25), Periyar and the Self-Respect Movement (1925), Communal G.O. (1921), Dravidar Kazhagam (1944). Bengal – the Matua/Namasudra tradition (Harichand-Guruchand Thakur), J. N. Mandal. [*Chapter 7*]

8. **Muslim League Politics.**

Close reading: Founding at Dacca, 30 December 1906 (Nawab Salimullah, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Aga Khan III); Simla Deputation (1 October 1906); separate electorates under the Morley-Minto Reforms 1909; Lucknow Pact 1916; Khilafat-NCM convergence 1919-22; Delhi Muslim Proposals (1927) and Jinnah's Fourteen Points (1929); RTCs and the Communal Award (1932); Lahore Resolution (23 March 1940); August Offer (1940); Cripps Mission (1942); Cabinet Mission (1946); Direct Action Day (16 August 1946); partition. [Chapter 8]

9. Working Class Movement.

Close reading: Early stirrings (Howrah 1862, Empress Nagpur 1877, Bombay textile 1908 as first political strike). Early associations (Lokhande's Bombay Mill Hands' Association 1890; B.P. Wadia's Madras Labour Union 1918). AITUC 31 October 1920 (Lala Lajpat Rai as first President). 1920s strikes (Bombay 1923, 1928; TISCO 1928). Meerut Conspiracy Case 1929-33. RIN Mutiny February 1946. Post-independence federations – INTUC 1947, HMS 1948, BMS 1955, CITU 1970. [Chapter 9]

10. Women in National Movement.

Close reading: Reform era (Sati 1829, Widow Remarriage 1856, Age of Consent 1891, Sarda 1929). Early organisations – Bharat Stree Mahamandal 1910, WIA 1917, AIWC 1927. Home Rule – Annie Besant as first woman INC President 1917. CDM – Sarojini Naidu's leadership at Dharasana 1930; Aruna Asaf Ali; Matangini Hazra (martyred Tamluk 1942). Quit India – Aruna Asaf Ali at Gowalia Tank; Usha Mehta's Congress Radio. Revolutionaries – Madame Cama, Pritilata Waddadar, Lakshmi Sehgal. Constituent Assembly – 15 women members. [Chapter 10]

11. Role of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in National Movement; RIN Mutiny, Tebhaga and Telangana Uprisings.

Close reading: Bose – ICS resignation 1921; Calcutta Mayor 1924-27; Congress President Haripura 1938 and Tripuri 1939; Forward Bloc 1939; escape January 1941; Berlin Indian Legion; submarine voyage 1943; takeover of INA July 1943; Provisional Government October 1943; Rani Jhansi Regiment; Moirang 14 April 1944; air-crash 18 August 1945. INA trials November 1945 (Shah Nawaz, Sehgal, Dhillon). RIN Mutiny 18-23 February 1946. Tebhaga 1946-47 (CPI, Bargadars, two-thirds share). Telangana 1946-51 (Andhra Mahasabha, Doddi Komarayya, Operation Polo 1948). [Chapter 11]

12. Towards Partition: Cripps Mission to Indian Independence Act, 1947; Partition and Independence.

Close reading: Cripps Mission March-April 1942 (post-dated cheque); Wavell Plan / Simla Conference 1945; 1945-46 elections; Cabinet Mission Plan 16 May 1946; Direct Action 16 August 1946; Interim Government 2 September 1946; Constituent Assembly 9 December 1946; Attlee's statement 20 February 1947; Mountbatten Plan 3 June 1947; Indian Independence Act 18 July 1947; Sylhet Referendum 6-7 July 1947; Radcliffe Award 17 August 1947; partition and

independence 14-15 August 1947. Integration of princely states – Patel and V. P. Menon; Junagadh, Hyderabad (Operation Polo September 1948), J&K (acceded 26 October 1947); Tripura Merger Agreement 9 September 1949. [*Chapter 12*]

REVISION CAPSULE | Total Section Marks

Section A: 50 marks of the 150-mark paper. **Pattern:** typically 5 of 20 MCQs (mixed with Sections B and C); one or two 5-mark SAT questions; two 10-mark LAT questions. **Word-limit:** 5-mark answers ~ 150 words; 10-mark answers ~ 250-300 words. **Time allocation:** approximately 60–70 minutes of the three-hour paper.

EXAM PATTERN & MARKS DISTRIBUTION -- SECTION A

Place of Section A in the Paper

General Studies Paper-II of the TCS / TPS Main Examination carries 150 marks over three hours. The paper has **two separate answer-scripts** – Part I (100 marks, Sections A-B-C) and Part II (50 marks, Sections D-E). Section A – Modern History of India – accounts for **50 marks** of Part I.

Sec.	Subject	Marks	Weight
A	Modern History of India	50	33.3%
B	History of Tripura	20	13.3%
C	Indian Socio-Cultural Heritage	30	20.0%
D	Geography of India	35	23.3%
E	Geography of Tripura	15	10.0%
Total		150	100%

Question Pattern within Section A

Q.#	Type	Marks	Each	Word-limit
MCQ block	Mixed factual recall	~5 (of 20)	1	N/A
SAT (Sec B)	Choose 4 of 5 questions on Modern History	20	5	~150 words
LAT (Sec)	Choose 2 of 3 long-answer on Modern History	20	10	~280 words

Effective Section A allocation: approximately 50 marks across MCQs (5), short-

answers ($4 \times 5 = 20$) and long-answers ($2 \times 10 = 20$). The remaining marks are sometimes shared with the Tripura history section (Section B).

Marks-to-Time Strategy

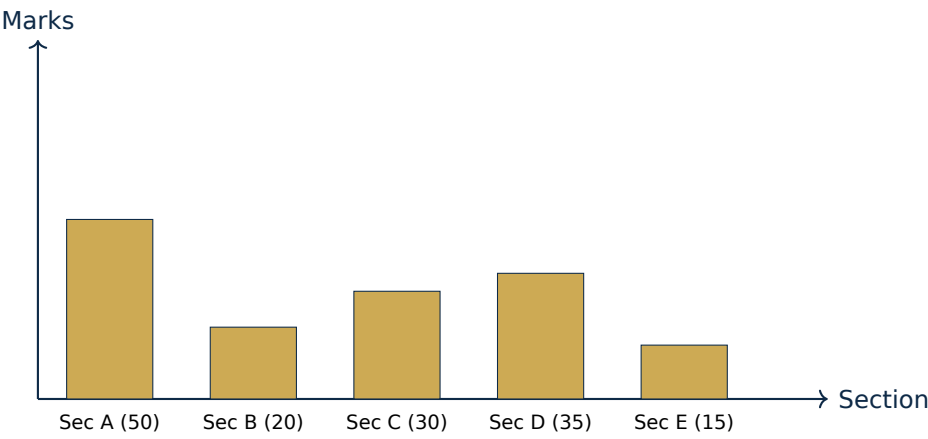
- **MCQs (1 mark each):** Decide in 30 seconds. Aim to finish the 20-MCQ block in 12–15 minutes.
- **SAT (5 marks):** 140–160 words. 7 minutes per answer. Structure: one-line introduction → three substantive bullets/short paragraphs → one-line conclusion.
- **LAT (10 marks):** 250–280 words. 12–13 minutes per answer. Structure: introduction → body with sub-headings → analytical / historiographical / contemporary dimension → conclusion.
- For split-mark questions like “(5+5)” allocate words equally; many candidates lose half-marks by under-investing in the second half.

Marking Conventions Observed in the Papers

EXAMINER'S INSIGHT | What Earns Marks

- **Structure** over raw content. A well-introduced, sub-headed, well-concluded 150-word answer typically beats a 200-word unstructured one.
- **Named scholars / texts.** “Savarkar’s 1909 *The Indian War of Independence* read 1857 as the first national war of independence; R. C. Majumdar disagreed” beats “Some historians read it as a war of independence.”
- **Specific dates.** “Mangal Pandey, 29 March 1857” beats “Mangal Pandey in early 1857.”
- **Tripura linkage** where the question permits. “In Tripura, the same period saw the Jamatia Uprising of 1863...” lifts an answer.
- **Diagrams / maps** where the question is spatial. Even a rough hand-drawn map of north-Indian centres of 1857 helps.

Visualising Weight



Section A is the largest single section.

PYQ TREND ANALYSIS

-- SECTION A

This chapter is the analytical heart of the volume. Every Section-A question asked in the TCS / TPS Main GS Paper-II in the available papers (2019, 2021, 2023) has been read, classified and graded. From that classification we derive a topic-by-topic probability scale, an examiner-pattern profile, and a curated list of high-probability questions for the next cycle. The body of every chapter that follows has been calibrated to the trends documented here.

1. Marks Captured by Section A across Cycles

Question Type	2019	2021	2023	Avg
MCQs (Sec A share)	5	6	5	5.3
5-mark SATs	20	20	20	20
10-mark LATs	20	20	20	20
Other / Sec-B overlap	5	4	5	4.7
Total	50	50	50	50

The Section-A weight has been *exactly fifty marks* in each of the three papers in our sample – a stable, predictable allocation.

2. Year-wise Question Inventory

2019 Paper

- **MCQs:** (i) Nationalist historian – R.C. Majumdar; (ii) Cause not of 1857 – spread of Western education; (iii) First INC conference 28 December 1885 – Bombay; (iv) *Neel-darpan* – indigo farmers; (v) Movement withdrawn after Chauri Chaura – Non-Cooperation; (vi) AIML founder – Nawab Salimullah; (vii) First President of AITUC – Lala Lajpat Rai; (viii) “Post-dated cheque” – Cripps Mission; (ix) Rani of Jhansi regiment – Lakshmi Sehgal; (x) Delegation to Montagu – Sarojini Naidu.
- **5-mark SAT:** 1857 as a watershed in British policy; Moderates’ role in forma-

tive INC; Phule's influence on Dalit movement; Bose's contribution to national movement; Press impact on 19th-century nationalism.

- **10-mark LAT:** Quit India distinct from other Gandhian movements; Telangana causes & significance (5+5); RIN Mutiny causes & political reactions (5+5).

2021 Paper

- **MCQs:** R. C. Dutt's revenue petitions; *Hind Swaraj* by Gandhi; Parallel govt absent at Calcutta (Quit India); Andamans renamed by Bose; Ulgulan – Birsa Munda; Kheda not a caste-violence Satyagraha; Surat session 1907 split; Govt of India Act 1935 (provincial autonomy); Narayan Guru – Ezhas of Kerala; periodical-editor matching (Sandhya = Brahmabandhab not Barindra).
- **5-mark SAT:** Subsidiary Alliance and Doctrine of Lapse contribution to 1857; Home Rule contribution to nationalism; Significance of Swadeshi movement; Patel's role in princely-state merger; Political-parties' views on Tebhaga.
- **10-mark LAT:** Factors leading to Moderate-Extremist split; Gandhi in mass movements; Dalit movement in Bombay-Madras presidencies.

2023 Paper

- **MCQs:** Bihar rebel of 1857 – Kunwar Singh; Jadunath Sarkar's autobiography *Jibaner Smriti*; Tilak opposed Age of Consent Bill; Birsa Munda Ulgulan; event-sequence (Press Act, Surat, NCM, Revolt Act); Poona Pact = Gandhi–Ambedkar; First Woman INC President – Sarojini Naidu (intended); August Offer presenter – Linlithgow; Round Table demand – separate electorate; Ambedkar periodicals (Janta not, distractor); Umakanta Das tenure (Tripura linkage).
- **5-mark SAT:** Permanent Settlement; Rani Jhansi Regiment; Home Rule Movement; Rise of Gandhi as national leader; 1946-47 movements towards partition.
- **10-mark LAT:** 1857 causes & national character (5+5); Schools of historiography on Indian nationalism; Bose & INA's role.

3. Topic-wise Mapping Across Three Years

Sub-Topic	2019			2021		2023	
Revolt of 1857 – causes, watershed, historiography	Q2(i) MCQ	5m	+	Q2(i) 5m: Sub-sidiary Alliance / Lapse		Q5(i) 10m: causes & national character + MCQs	

Sub-Topic	2019	2021	2023
Growth of Nationalism / Historiography / Press	Q2(v) 5m: Press impact + MCQ	Q5(i) 10m: Mod-Ext split + MCQ	Q5(ii) 10m: Schools of historiography + MCQs
INC Formation, Moderates & Extremists	Q2(ii) 5m + MCQ (1885)	Q5(i) 10m: Mod-Ext split (Surat 1907)	MCQ
Revolutionary Activities	– (passing reference)	MCQ: Ulgulan (Birsa Munda)	MCQ: Ulgulan; parallel govt Quit India
Rise of Gandhi (SA, NCM, CDM, QIM)	Q5(i) 10m: Quit India distinct	Q5(ii) 10m: Gandhi mass movements	Q2(iv) 5m: Rise of Gandhi
Left-wing Politics	–	–	Implied in Q5(ii) Nationalism historiography
Dalit Movements	Q2(iii) 5m: Phule Maharashtra	Q5(iii) 10m: Bombay-Madras; MCQ Narayan Guru	MCQ: Ambedkar periodicals, Poona Pact
Muslim League Politics	MCQ (1906 Salimullah)	–	– (August Offer MCQ)
Working Class Movement	MCQ: First Pres AITUC	–	–
Women in National Movement	MCQ: Rani Jhansi Regt, Sarojini Naidu	MCQ: Sarojini Naidu	Q2(ii) 5m: Rani Jhansi Regt; MCQ
Bose / INA / RIN / Tebhaga / Telangana	Q2(iv) 5m: Bose; Q5(ii) 10m Telangana; Q5(iii) 10m RIN	Q2(v) 5m: Tebhaga	Q5(iii) 10m: Bose & INA
Towards Partition (Cripps to 1947)	MCQ: Cripps “post-dated cheque”	Q2(iv) 5m: Patel & Princely States	Q2(v) 5m: 1946-47 movements

4. Difficulty & Analytical Profile

Profile	2019	2021	2023	Trend
Pure factual MCQs	5	6	5	Stable
Analytical SAT (5m)	4	4	4	Stable
Long analytical (10m)	2	2	2	Stable
Analytical share	80%	80%	80%	Stable
Historiography-tagged Qs	1	1	2	Rising
“First-of-its-kind” MCQs	2	3	4	Rising
Source-attributed Qs	0	1	2	Rising

5. Probability Ranking -- High-Yield Sub-Topics for the Next Main

Sub-Topic	Probability	Rationale
Causes of 1857 / Historiography	Very High	Asked every cycle in some form.
Rise / Mass movements of Gandhi	Very High	Every cycle (QIM 2019, mass 2021, rise 2023).
Historiography of Nationalism	Very High	Explicit 2023; due for follow-up.
Bose / INA / Trials	Very High	Recurrent.
Tebhaga / Telangana / RIN	High	Rotate across cycles.
Dalit movements (Phule, Ambedkar, Narayan Guru)	High	2019, 2021, 2023 all engaged.
Cripps to Indian Independence Act	High	2019 MCQ, 2021 SAT (Patel), 2023 SAT (1946-47); LAT due.
Surat Split / Moderates / Extremists	High	2021 10m; expect 5m follow-up.
Press & Literature in 19th C	Medium-High	2019 5m; due.
Revolutionary tradition (Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra)	Medium-High	Strong sleeper – no LAT since 2019
Muslim League pre-Pakistan trajectory	Medium-High	Repeated MCQs but no 10m.
Women in National Movement	Medium-High	Repeated MCQs, 2023 5m on Rani Jhansi Regt – LAT due.
Working class movement	Sleeper	Only MCQs so far – SAT / LAT overdue.
Left-wing politics (CPI, CSP, Forward Bloc)	Sleeper	Never asked directly.
Integration of Princely States beyond Tripura	Sleeper	2021 5m on Patel – LAT plausible.

6. Examiner's Hidden Patterns

EXAMINER'S INSIGHT | Patterns to Internalise

Pattern 1 – Tripura-paired questions. The examiner regularly pairs an India-level question with a Tripura companion – 1857 with Ishan Chandra Manikya, Bhakti with Bhakti in Tripura, Princely-State merger with Tripura merger. Anticipate a Tripura linkage on every Section-A topic.

Pattern 2 – Source attribution. 2023 saw a sharp rise in source-attributed

MCQs (Jadunath Sarkar's autobiography, Ambedkar's periodicals, August Offer presenter). Memorise titles, authors and dates of canonical works.

Pattern 3 – Historiography in the long-answer. The 2023 paper explicitly asked the schools of historiography on nationalism. Future cycles will likely demand the same on 1857, on Gandhian politics, on the partition.

Pattern 4 – Sequence-based MCQs. 2023 carried an event-sequence question (Press Act, Surat, NCM, Revolt Act). Build a tight chronology in your mind.

Pattern 5 – Quotation MCQs. "A post-dated cheque", "Saare jahan se achha", *Hind Swaraj*, "Bharat Bhaskar" – recall the famous lines and their attributions.

7. Probable Questions -- Next Cycle (High Confidence)

1. Discuss the causes and consequences of the Revolt of 1857. Was it a national movement? (10)
2. "The Moderates laid the foundations of Indian nationalism." Discuss. (10)
3. Critically evaluate the contribution of the revolutionary movement in Bengal. (10)
4. Discuss the rise of Gandhi as a national leader in the period 1915-1920. (5)
5. Examine the role of the Indian National Army in India's freedom struggle. (10)
6. Discuss the principal schools of historiography on Indian nationalism. (10)
7. Trace the development of the working-class movement up to 1947. (10)
8. Examine the contribution of Sri Narayana Guru to the Dalit movement. (5)
9. Critically analyse the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946. (10)
10. Discuss the role of Sardar Patel in the integration of princely states. (10)
11. Trace the evolution of the Muslim League from 1906 to 1940. (10)
12. Examine the contribution of women revolutionaries to the freedom struggle. (5)

REVISION CAPSULE | Three Takeaways

(1) Section A is 50 marks; analytical questions account for 80% of the section's marks. (2) Mastery of historiography, named scholars, and exact dates is no longer optional – the 2023 trend is decisive. (3) Always anticipate the Tripura linkage on any Section-A topic.

CONTENTS

Preface	ix
Acknowledgement	xi
About Quarks TPSC	xiii
How to Use This Book	xv
The Section A Syllabus	xix
Exam Pattern & Marks Distribution	xxiii
PYQ Trend Analysis	xxvii
1 The Revolt of 1857	1
1.1 Conceptual Introduction	2
1.2 Background – A Century of Accumulating Discontent	3
1.2.1 The Political Background – The Expansionist Doctrines	3
1.2.2 The Economic Background	4
1.2.3 The Religious-Cultural Background	5
1.2.4 The Military Background – The Bengal Army	6
1.3 Course of the Revolt	7
1.3.1 The Outbreak – Meerut and Delhi	7
1.3.2 Geographical Spread – The Storm Centres	8
1.3.3 Geographical Limits – Why The Revolt Did Not Spread South	9
1.3.4 Suppression and Chronology of Defeat	9
1.4 Causes – A Synthesised View	10
1.5 Effects – The Re-engineering of British India	10
1.5.1 Constitutional Changes – The Crown Replaces the Company	10
1.5.2 Military Reorganisation – The Peel Commission’s Long Shadow	11
1.5.3 Policy Towards Princely States – “Breakwaters in the Storm”	11
1.5.4 Economic Consequences	12
1.5.5 Social & Racial Aftermath	12

1.6	Causes of the Failure of the Revolt	12
1.7	Historiography – Five Schools of Interpretation	13
1.7.1	The Most Famous Position – R. C. Majumdar’s Denial	14
1.7.2	Karl Marx in 1857	15
1.8	Important Personalities of 1857	15
1.8.1	Bahadur Shah II (Bahadur Shah Zafar, 1775-1862)	15
1.8.2	Nana Saheb Peshwa II (1824-?)	15
1.8.3	Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi (1828-1858)	16
1.8.4	Tantia Tope (1814-1859)	16
1.8.5	Begum Hazrat Mahal (1820-1879)	16
1.8.6	Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah of Faizabad	16
1.8.7	Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur (1777-1858)	16
1.8.8	General Bakht Khan	16
1.8.9	John Lawrence, John Nicholson, Sir Henry Lawrence, Out- ram, Havelock, Campbell, Hugh Rose	16
1.9	Tripura Perspective	17
1.10	Recent Relevance	18
1.11	Key Terms	18
1.12	Timeline – 1857-58 at a Glance	19
1.13	Comparative Analysis	19
1.13.1	1857 vs Later Movements	19
1.13.2	1857 vs Earlier Sepoy Mutinies	20
1.14	Important Facts	21
1.15	Value Addition – Quotations & Data	21
1.16	PYQs with Model Answers	22
1.17	Sample Questions – Three Difficulty Bands	24
1.18	Practice Questions	25
1.19	Examiner’s Expectations	25
1.20	Revision Notes	26
1.21	Quick Revision Sheet	26
1.22	Chapter Summary	27

1.23 Chapter-end Exercises	27
--------------------------------------	----

2 Growth of Indian Nationalism 29

2.1 Conceptual Introduction	30
2.2 Causes – Why Nationalism Grew in the 19th Century	30
2.2.1 Political-Administrative Causes	30
2.2.2 Economic Causes	31
2.2.3 Social-Religious Causes – The Reform Movements	31
2.2.4 Educational Causes	32
2.2.5 The Re-Discovery of India's Past	32
2.3 Press in 19th-Century India	32
2.3.1 Foundational Newspapers	32
2.3.2 Bengali Press	32
2.3.3 English-Language Indian Press	33
2.3.4 The Vernacular Press Act, 1878	33
2.3.5 Newspaper Act 1908 & Press Act 1910	33
2.4 Literature & the National Imagination	34
2.4.1 Bengali	34
2.4.2 Hindi	34
2.4.3 Other Languages	34
2.5 Growth of Organisation – The Pre-Congress Bodies	36
2.5.1 The Indian National Conference	36
2.6 Foundation of the Indian National Congress – December 1885	37
2.7 Historiography of Indian Nationalism – The 2023 PYQ Focus	37
2.7.1 Imperialist / Colonialist School	37
2.7.2 Nationalist School	37
2.7.3 Marxist / Radical School	37
2.7.4 Cambridge / Revisionist School	38
2.7.5 Subaltern School	38
2.8 Tripura Perspective	39
2.9 Recent Relevance	39
2.10 Important Facts	40
2.11 Mains Enrichment	40

2.12 PYQ Model Answers	41
2.13 Practice Questions	42
2.14 Quick Revision Sheet	43
2.15 Chapter Summary	43

3 Indian National Congress: Formation, Moderates & Extremists **45**

3.1 Foundation of the Indian National Congress – 1885	46
3.1.1 The Founding Personalities	46
3.1.2 The Safety-Valve Question	46
3.1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Congress (1885)	47
3.1.4 The Three Phases of the Congress (1885–1947)	47
3.2 The Moderate Phase (1885–1905)	47
3.2.1 Who Were the Moderates?	48
3.2.2 The Moderates' Worldview	48
3.2.3 Methods of the Moderates	48
3.2.4 Contributions of the Moderates	49
3.2.5 Limitations of the Moderates	49
3.3 The Extremist Phase (1905–1919)	50
3.3.1 Background – Why Extremism Arose	50
3.3.2 Who Were the Extremists?	50
3.3.3 Methods of the Extremists	51
3.3.4 Goals of the Extremists	51
3.4 The Partition of Bengal – Catalyst of Extremism	51
3.4.1 The Anti-Partition Movement (1905–11)	51
3.5 The Surat Split – 1907	52
3.5.1 Build-up	52
3.5.2 The Split	52
3.5.3 Aftermath (1908–1916)	52
3.6 Comparative Analysis – Moderates vs Extremists	53
3.7 Factors Leading to the Split (2021 PYQ Focus)	53
3.8 Tripura Perspective	54
3.9 Mains Enrichment Points	55

3.10 Important Facts	55
3.11 Timeline – The Early Congress, 1885–1916	55
3.12 PYQs with Model Answers	56
3.13 Sample & Practice Questions.	57
3.14 Examiner’s Expectations & Common Mistakes	57
3.15 Revision Notes.	58
3.16 Quick Revision Sheet.	58
4 Revolutionary Activities: Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra	61
4.1 Conceptual Introduction	62
4.2 Three Phases of Revolutionary Activity	62
4.3 Maharashtra – The Earliest Tradition	62
4.3.1 The Chapekar Brothers (1897)	62
4.3.2 Tilak’s Festivals as Political Mobilisation	63
4.3.3 Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883–1966)	63
4.4 Bengal – The Densest Network	63
4.4.1 The Yugantar – Anushilan Tradition	63
4.4.2 The Alipore Bomb Case (1908)	64
4.4.3 Rashbehari Bose, Sachindranath Sanyal and the Delhi Con- spiracy (1912)	64
4.4.4 The Ghadar Conspiracy and Bengal	64
4.4.5 The Chittagong Armoury Raid (1930)	64
4.5 Punjab – Closely Linked to Bengal	64
4.5.1 Lala Hardayal and the Ghadar Movement (1913)	65
4.5.2 Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Chandrashekhar Azad	65
4.6 Tribal Revolts – Birsa Munda and Ulgulan	65
4.7 Revolutionary Abroad – India House, Berlin Committee, San Francisco	66
4.8 Tripura Perspective	67
4.9 Important Facts & Quotations	67
4.10 Recent Relevance	68
4.11 Sample Questions	68
4.12 Model Answer – Revolutionary Movement’s Contribution (10 marks)	69

4.13 Revision Notes	69
4.14 Quick Revision Sheet	70

5 Rise of Gandhi: South Africa, Satyagraha, NCM, CDM, Quit India **73**

5.1 Conceptual Introduction	74
5.2 South African Experience (1893–1915)	74
5.2.1 Three Phases of the South African Years	74
5.2.2 What Gandhi Brought Back from South Africa	74
5.3 Gandhi's Political Philosophy – The Essentials	75
5.4 Early Indian Campaigns (1917–1919)	75
5.4.1 Champaran Satyagraha (1917)	75
5.4.2 Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918)	75
5.4.3 Kheda Satyagraha (1918)	76
5.5 Rowlatt Satyagraha & Jallianwala Bagh (1919)	76
5.5.1 Rowlatt Act, March 1919	76
5.5.2 Jallianwala Bagh, 13 April 1919	76
5.6 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920–1922)	76
5.6.1 Two Issues, One Movement – The Khilafat-NCM Convergence	76
5.6.2 The Programme	76
5.6.3 Chauri Chaura – 5 February 1922	77
5.6.4 Significance of NCM	77
5.7 Swaraj Party & Constructive Phase (1923–1929)	77
5.8 Civil Disobedience Movement (1930–1934)	78
5.8.1 The Salt March – 12 March to 6 April 1930	78
5.8.2 The Programme	78
5.8.3 Gandhi-Irwin Pact & Round Table Conferences	78
5.9 Individual Satyagraha & August Offer (1939–1941)	79
5.10 Quit India Movement (1942)	79
5.10.1 Build-up	79
5.10.2 The AICC Resolution – Bombay, 8 August 1942	79
5.10.3 Arrests, 9 August 1942	79
5.10.4 The Underground Movement	80

5.10.5 What Made Quit India Different (2019 PYQ Focus)	80
5.10.6 Suppression & Aftermath	80
5.11 Comparative Analysis – The Three Mass Movements	81
5.12 Tripura Perspective	81
5.13 Mains Enrichment Points	82
5.14 PYQs with Model Answers	82
5.15 Sample Questions	84
5.16 Revision Notes	84
5.17 Quick Revision Sheet	85
6 Alternative Ideologies and Practices: Left-Wing Politics	87
6.1 Conceptual Introduction	88
6.2 Early Indian Marxism (1920s)	88
6.2.1 Indian Communist Beginnings	88
6.2.2 Founding of CPI Within India	88
6.2.3 The Conspiracy Cases	88
6.2.4 Workers' and Peasants' Parties (WPP) – mid-1920s	89
6.3 Congress Socialist Party (CSP, 1934)	89
6.4 Subhas Chandra Bose and the Forward Bloc (1939)	89
6.5 Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP, 1940)	89
6.6 Trade Union Movement – AITUC and After	90
6.6.1 All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC, 1920)	90
6.6.2 Splits and Mergers	90
6.7 All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS, 1936)	90
6.8 The Three Great Peasant Uprisings (1946–51)	90
6.8.1 Tebhaga Movement (1946–47), Bengal – 2021 PYQ	90
6.8.2 Telangana Armed Struggle (1946–51) – 2019 PYQ	91
6.8.3 Punnappa-Vayalar (1946), Travancore	92
6.9 Tripura Perspective	92
6.10 Recent Relevance	93
6.11 Important Facts	93
6.12 PYQ Model Answers	94

6.13 Sample Questions	95
6.14 Quick Revision Sheet.	96
7 Dalit Movements -- Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies	97
7.1 Conceptual Introduction	98
7.2 Pre-Ambedkar Pioneers	98
7.2.1 Bengal – Sri Narayan Guru of Kerala (geographically Madras Presidency)	98
7.2.2 Madras Presidency – Periyar and the Self-Respect Movement	98
7.2.3 Maharashtra – Jyotirao Phule (2019 PYQ)	99
7.2.4 Maharashtra – Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur (1874–1922)	99
7.2.5 Bengal – The Namasudra Movement	99
7.2.6 Bengal – Jogendra Nath Mandal (1904–1968)	100
7.3 B. R. Ambedkar – Bombay Presidency & Beyond	100
7.3.1 Early Life and Education	100
7.3.2 Organisations Founded	100
7.3.3 Major Satyagrahas	100
7.3.4 Periodicals Founded (2023 MCQ ask)	101
7.3.5 Round Table Conferences & Communal Award	101
7.3.6 Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly	101
7.3.7 Buddhist Conversion – 14 October 1956	101
7.4 Comparative Table – Three Presidencies.	102
7.5 Tripura Perspective	102
7.6 Mains Enrichment Points	103
7.7 PYQ Model Answers.	103
7.8 Sample Questions	104
7.9 Quick Revision Sheet.	105
8 Muslim League Politics	107
8.1 The Aligarh Background (1875–1906)	108
8.1.1 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–1898)	108
8.1.2 The Mohammedan Educational Conference (1886)	108
8.1.3 The Simla Deputation – 1 October 1906	108

8.2	Founding of the All India Muslim League – 30 December 1906	108
8.3	Phase I – Loyalist League (1906–1913)	109
8.4	Phase II – League–Congress Cooperation (1913–1924)	109
8.4.1	Lucknow Session 1913	109
8.4.2	Lucknow Pact – December 1916	109
8.4.3	Khilafat & Non-Cooperation – 1919–1922	110
8.5	Phase III – Communal Drift (1924–1937)	110
8.5.1	Muddiman Committee, 1924	110
8.5.2	Delhi Muslim Proposals 1927	110
8.5.3	Nehru Report – August 1928	110
8.5.4	Round Table Conferences 1930–32	111
8.5.5	Government of India Act 1935	111
8.6	Phase IV – Towards Pakistan (1937–1947)	111
8.6.1	Lahore Resolution – 23 March 1940 (“Pakistan Resolution”)	111
8.6.2	August Offer (1940) and Cripps Mission (1942)	112
8.6.3	During Quit India (1942)	112
8.6.4	C. R. Formula & Gandhi-Jinnah Talks (1944)	112
8.6.5	Simla Conference – June 1945	112
8.6.6	Elections of 1945–46	112
8.6.7	Cabinet Mission Plan – May 1946	112
8.6.8	Direct Action Day – 16 August 1946	113
8.6.9	Towards Partition – 1947	113
8.7	Two-Nation Theory – Critical Reading	113
8.8	Tripura Perspective	114
8.9	Important Facts	114
8.10	PYQ Model Answer (2023, 5m) – 1946–47 Movements towards Partition.	115
8.11	Sample Questions	115
8.12	Quick Revision Sheet.	116

9 Working Class Movement 117

9.1	Conceptual Introduction	117
9.2	Phase I – Early Stirrings (1850–1918).	118

9.2.1	First Strikes	118
9.2.2	Early Welfare Legislation	118
9.2.3	Early Welfare Associations	118
9.3	Phase II – Organised Labour (1918–1934)	118
9.3.1	All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) – 31 October 1920	118
9.3.2	Major Strikes 1920–29	119
9.3.3	Trade Disputes Act & Public Safety Bill (1929)	119
9.3.4	Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929–33)	119
9.3.5	Splits and Mergers in AITUC	119
9.4	Phase III – War and Independence (1939–1947)	119
9.4.1	Royal Indian Navy Mutiny – 18–23 February 1946	120
9.4.2	Post-War Labour Unrest (1945–1947)	120
9.4.3	Trade Union Federations after 1947	120
9.5	Tripura Perspective	120
9.6	Important Facts & Quotations	121
9.7	Sample Questions & Model Answer	121
9.8	Quick Revision Sheet	123

10 Women in the National Movement 125

10.1	Conceptual Introduction	126
10.2	Phase I – The Reform Era (1820–1900)	126
10.2.1	The Long Catalogue of Reform Legislation	126
10.2.2	Reformist Pioneers	126
10.2.3	Early Women’s Organisations	127
10.3	Phase II – The Mass-Movement Era (1905–1947)	127
10.3.1	Partition of Bengal & Swadeshi (1905–08)	127
10.3.2	Home Rule Movement (1916–18) – Annie Besant	127
10.3.3	Non-Cooperation Movement (1920–22)	127
10.3.4	Civil Disobedience Movement (1930–34)	128
10.3.5	Quit India Movement (1942)	128
10.4	Phase III – The Revolutionary Stream	128
10.4.1	Madame Cama (1861–1936)	128
10.4.2	Revolutionaries of Bengal	128

10.4.3	INA & the Rani of Jhansi Regiment (2019, 2023 PYQs)	129
10.5	Women in Constitution-Making and Post-Independence	129
10.5.1	Women in the Constituent Assembly	129
10.5.2	Constitutional Guarantees	129
10.6	Tripura Perspective	130
10.7	Mains Enrichment Points	130
10.8	PYQ Model Answer (2023, 5m) – Rani Jhansi Regiment	131
10.9	Sample & Practice Questions	131
10.10	Quick Revision Sheet	131

11 Subhas Chandra Bose, INA, RIN Mutiny, Tebhaga & Telangana **133**

11.1	Subhas Chandra Bose – The National Years (1921–1939)	134
11.1.1	Early Life	134
11.1.2	Apprenticeship Under C. R. Das	134
11.1.3	Rise in the Congress (1927–1938)	134
11.1.4	Haripura and Tripuri – the Conflict with Gandhi	134
11.2	The Great Escape and Berlin Phase (1941–1943)	135
11.2.1	Internment and Escape (1940–41)	135
11.2.2	Bose in Berlin	135
11.3	The Submarine Voyage and Asian Phase (1943–1945)	135
11.3.1	From Kiel to Sumatra	135
11.3.2	Taking Charge of the INA	136
11.3.3	The INA's Military Campaigns	136
11.3.4	Death of Bose (18 August 1945)	136
11.4	The INA Trials – Red Fort, November 1945	137
11.4.1	The Trial	137
11.4.2	Political Reaction	137
11.5	The Royal Indian Navy Mutiny – 18–23 February 1946	137
11.5.1	Trigger	137
11.5.2	Spread	137
11.5.3	Solidarity Strikes	138
11.5.4	Surrender	138

11.5.5	Reactions of the Political Parties (2019 PYQ ask)	138
11.5.6	Significance	139
11.6	The Tebhaga and Telangana Movements	139
11.6.1	Tebhaga (1946–47, Bengal)	139
11.6.2	Telangana (1946–51, Hyderabad)	139
11.7	Tripura Perspective	140
11.8	PYQ Model Answers	140
11.9	Quick Revision Sheet	143

12 Towards Partition: Cripps Mission to Indian Independence Act, 1947 **145**

12.1	Conceptual Introduction	146
12.2	The Cripps Mission – March–April 1942	146
12.2.1	Background	146
12.2.2	Cripps' Proposals	146
12.2.3	Rejection	146
12.2.4	Significance	147
12.3	Quit India to the Wavell Plan (1942–1945)	147
12.3.1	Wartime Years (1942–44)	147
12.3.2	Wavell Plan – Simla Conference, June–July 1945	147
12.4	The 1945–46 Elections and the Cabinet Mission	147
12.4.1	Elections (December 1945 – February 1946)	148
12.4.2	Cabinet Mission Plan – 16 May 1946	148
12.4.3	Acceptance & Withdrawal	148
12.5	The Interim Government and Direct Action (1946)	148
12.5.1	Direct Action Day – 16 August 1946	149
12.5.2	Interim Government – 2 September 1946	149
12.5.3	Constituent Assembly – 9 December 1946	149
12.6	The Final Phase – February to August 1947	149
12.6.1	Attlee's Statement – 20 February 1947	149
12.6.2	Mountbatten in India (March 1947)	149
12.6.3	Mountbatten Plan / 3 June Plan – 3 June 1947	149
12.6.4	Indian Independence Act – 18 July 1947	150

12.6.5	Referendums	150
12.6.6	Radcliffe Boundary Commission	150
12.7	Independence and Partition – 14–15 August 1947.	150
12.8	The Costs of Partition	151
12.9	Integration of Princely States – Sardar Patel’s Role (2021 PYQ).	151
12.9.1	The Princely Problem	151
12.9.2	Patel as Home Minister	151
12.10	The Tripura Merger – A Distinct Story	152
12.11	Mains Enrichment Points	152
12.12	PYQ Model Answers.	152
12.13	Sample & Practice Questions.	154
12.14	Quick Revision Sheet.	154
	Appendix A: Consolidated Timeline	157
	Appendix B: Glossary	161
	Appendix C: Bibliography	167
	Appendix D: Model Test Paper I	171
	Appendix E: Model Test Paper II	173
	Appendix F: Model Test Paper III	175

THE REVOLT OF 1857

“The Revolt of 1857 was the first great challenge to the British Raj from within. It failed – but it transformed the Raj more profoundly than many successful rebellions.”

— a modern paraphrase often used in classroom teaching

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 1 -- Revolt of 1857: Causes, Effects, Historiography.

1.1 Why This Chapter Matters

The Revolt of 1857 is the single most asked topic of Section A. In the three papers in our sample it has appeared as a 5-mark watershed-question (2019), a 5-mark Subsidiary-Alliance / Lapse question (2021) and a 10-mark causes-and-national-character question (2023). It has also surfaced repeatedly as MCQs – on Bihar’s Kunwar Singh, on the cause that was *not* of 1857, on Nationalist historiographers (R. C. Majumdar), on the movement that was withdrawn after Chauri Chaura (a near-1857 distractor option).

The chapter is, moreover, a *historiographical pivot* for the rest of Section A. Every later topic – nationalism, Congress, Gandhi, Bose – is interpreted partly in relation to 1857. A weak grasp here propagates weakness through the rest of the section.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021, 2023

- (2019, 5m) “The Great Revolt of 1857 was an important ‘watershed’ in evolution of British Policies towards Colonial India.” – Explain.
- (2021, 5m) To what extent did the policies of Subsidiary Alliance and Doctrine of Lapse contribute towards the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857?
- (2023, 10m) What were the causes behind the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857? Would you categorise it as a ‘National’ movement, and why? (5+5)
- (2019 MCQ) Cause not of 1857 – Spread of Western education.
- (2019 MCQ) Nationalist historian among the listed – R. C. Majumdar.
- (2023 MCQ) Main rebel of 1857 in Bihar – Kunwar Singh.
- (2023 MCQ) Event-sequence – Press Act → Surat → NCM → Revolt Act (an oblique 1857 frame question).

1.1 Conceptual Introduction

THE Revolt of 1857 – variously remembered as the Sepoy Mutiny, the First War of Independence, the Great Rebellion or the Indian Mutiny – was a multi-class, multi-region uprising that swept across northern and central India in the summer of 1857 and burned itself out only in the late spring of 1858. It began on the morning of **10 MAY 1857** with the sepoys of the Bengal Army at Meerut breaking their officers, marching to Delhi the next day, and proclaiming **Bahadur Shah II** the symbolic Emperor of Hindustan.

Within weeks the Revolt had pulled in deposed kings (Nana Saheb of Bithoor), determined queens (Lakshmibai of Jhansi), revivalist leaders (Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah of Faizabad), tribal chiefs (Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur in Bihar) and tens of thousands of dispossessed peasants and artisans of Awadh, Rohilkhand, Bundelkhand, Bihar and the Doab. By the time the Queen’s Proclamation of **NOVEMBER 1858** dissolved the East India Company and transferred power to the British Crown, the political, military, economic and social architecture of British India had been redrawn.

To understand modern Indian history without understanding 1857 is to read a book missing its first chapter. The student who internalises this chapter – its political background, its accumulated economic and religious grievances, its course, its leaders, its causes of failure, its consequences and its historiographical readings – has built the foundation on which every later chapter of Section A will rest.

1.2 Background -- A Century of Accumulating Discontent

The roots of the 1857 Revolt lie not in a single event but in a century-long accumulation of grievances. Between Plassey (1757) and Meerut (1857) the East India Company moved from a trading entity to the paramount power of the sub-continent. That transition generated multiple constituencies – princes, peasants, artisans, soldiers, religious leaders, displaced administrators – with reasons to resent the new order.

1.2.1 The Political Background -- The Expansionist Doctrines

Subsidiary Alliance (Wellesley, 1798--1805)

Under Lord Wellesley's Subsidiary Alliance, a princely state had to (i) station a British force in its capital, (ii) pay for that force in cash or, more usually, by ceding territory, (iii) accept a British Resident at court, and (iv) renounce independent diplomacy with other states or foreign powers. The system effectively converted Indian princes into pensioners of the Company.

Hyderabad (1798), Mysore (1799), Awadh (1801), Peshwa (1802), Scindia (1803), Holkar (1818) all came under the Alliance in varying forms. The Nawab of Awadh, after he accepted the Alliance, saw his territory taxed for the cost of a force he could not command and his treasury bled annually. The system created a structural resentment in Indian courts even before the Doctrine of Lapse intensified it.

Doctrine of Lapse (Dalhousie, 1848--1856)

Lord Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse refused to recognise an adopted heir's right to succession in a princely state that owed its existence or its independence to the British. Under the Doctrine, Satara (1848), Jaitpur and Sambalpur (1849), Bhagat (1850), Udaipur (1852), Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854) were absorbed in quick succession.

The Maratha Peshwaship itself was extinguished. Nana Saheb – the adopted son of Baji Rao II – was refused the pension and the ceremonial honour of his father, planting in him a personal grievance that would erupt at Cawnpore. The Rani of Jhansi – whose adopted infant son Damodar Rao was refused recognition – would lose her state to the same doctrine.

The Annexation of Awadh (1856)

The single decision that most directly produced the sepoy mutiny was the annexation of **Awadh**, in February 1856, on the pretext of misgovernment. Awadh supplied roughly one-third of the sepoys of the Bengal Army; many of those sepoys' fathers were Awadhi taluqdars or kisans whose status, pensions and lands were upended by the annexation. The grievance was both pocket and pride.

Why These Mattered for the Revolt

Subsidiary Alliance and Lapse manufactured the rebel leadership of 1857. Nana Saheb (Peshwa's adopted son), Rani Lakshmibai (Jhansi), Begum Hazrat Mahal (Awadh) all carried personal grievances directly traceable to these doctrines. The doctrines did not, in themselves, produce a revolt – but they supplied the cadre of dispossessed princes around whom the sepoys' mutiny could become a multi-class uprising.

1.2.2 The Economic Background

Land-Revenue Settlements

Three settlements pressed on three different regions of British India and produced distinct economic stresses:

Settlement	Region	Years	Key Pressure
Permanent (Cornwallis)	Bengal, Orissa	Bihar, 1793 onwards	High fixed revenue passed by zamindars to ryots; rapid sale of estates for arrears.
Ryotwari (Munro, Read)	Madras, Bombay	1820 onwards	Direct settlement with cultivator; chronic over-assessment.
Mahalwari (Holt Mackenzie)	North-Western Provinces, Punjab	1822 onwards	Village-level settlement; revisions every 20–30 years intensified rural debt.

All three settlements converted land into a transferable commodity, with sale and auction following arrears of revenue. By the 1850s the moneylender (*mahajan*) had emerged as the new village power, and ancestral peasant families were being displaced from holdings their forefathers had cultivated for generations.

The Inam Commission of 1852

In the Bombay Deccan, the Inam Commission of 1852 rigorously investigated rent-free (*inam*) tenures granted by previous Maratha rulers and resumed approximately 20,000 estates. The directly affected landed gentry of western and central India had every reason to support an upheaval that promised to restore the old order.

The Ruin of Indian Industries

British industrial policy after 1813 – particularly the abolition of the Charter’s protective duties for Indian textiles – turned India into a market for British manufactures and a supplier of raw materials. The collapse of the handloom industry of Bengal, Punjab and the Doab is the textbook example. By the 1850s the once-flourishing weaver towns of Murshidabad, Dacca and Mirzapur had been hollowed out, with displaced artisans drifting back to a countryside that could not absorb them.

The contemporary Bengali playwright Dinabandhu Mitra’s later play *Nil Darpan* (1860) – one of the founding documents of Bengali nationalist literature – captures this same period of indigo-planter coercion and rural distress that prepared the ground for 1857.

Drain of Wealth -- the Pre-Naoroji Stage

What would later be named the “drain of wealth” by Dadabhai Naoroji – the systematic, unrequited transfer of Indian resources to Britain through Home Charges, military expenditure and trade balances – was already producing concrete misery by the 1850s. The pre-1857 generation lacked the analytical vocabulary; it nonetheless felt the cost in falling real wages, in chronic peasant indebtedness, and in the collapse of urban artisanal markets.

1.2.3 The Religious-Cultural Background

By the 1850s the Company had reversed its earlier policy of non-interference in Indian society:

- **Abolition of Sati (1829)** – William Bentinck. Right in principle; but read by orthodox sections as state intervention in religious practice.
- **Hindu Widow Remarriage Act (1856)** – under Dalhousie / Canning. Pushed by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar; resented by orthodoxy.
- **Christian missionary activity** after the Charter Act of 1813 opened India to missionaries. Schools, hospitals and conversion campaigns spread.
- **Religious Disabilities Act (1850)** which removed the legal disabilities of a Hindu who converted to Christianity, including in matters of inheritance – “Lex Loci”, as it was sometimes called. Conversions could now retain property; converts became, for orthodox sections, an established danger.
- **Western education and English language** promotion after Macaulay’s Minute (1835) and Wood’s Despatch (1854). The three Presidency Universities were established in 1857 itself.

EXAMINER'S INSIGHT | Note for MCQ Aspirants

The 2019 MCQ asked which cause was *not* of 1857. The correct answer was “spread and promotion of Western education” – because in 1857 itself, Western education was not yet at scale, and orthodoxy resented the religious and legal interventions more than the secular educational ones. Distinguish Western *education* (mostly post-1857) from *religious-legal intervention* (very much pre-1857).

To traditionalist sections of both Hindu and Muslim society these measures appeared as a calculated assault on the religious order. Rumours – particularly the rumour that the new cartridges were greased with cow and pig fat – fell on prepared ground.

1.2.4 The Military Background -- The Bengal Army

The Bengal Army of the East India Company recruited heavily from upper-caste Hindus (Brahmins and Rajputs of Awadh and Bihar) and Muslims of similar status. Their grievances accumulated through the 1840s and 1850s:

1. **Service grievances** – discriminatory pay (Indian sepoys received a fraction of what a British soldier received), no promotion above the rank of subedar, and (most explosively) the **General Service Enlistment Act of 1856**, which obliged new recruits to serve overseas, violating the caste taboo against crossing the *kala pani*.
2. **Religious offence** – the greased cartridges of the Enfield rifle, introduced in 1857, had to be bitten before loading. Rumour – encouraged by an actual issue of grease containing tallow – held that the grease was made from cow-fat (offending Hindus) and pig-fat (offending Muslims).
3. **Relative numbers** – a steep contraction of the British contingent after the Crimean and Persian wars left the British dangerously thin on the ground in northern India. By early 1857, Indian sepoys outnumbered British troops by roughly six to one in the Bengal Presidency.
4. **Loss of *batta*** – the abolition of foreign-service allowance for service in Sindh and Punjab after annexation was, in practice, a direct pay cut.
5. **Earlier mutinies suppressed** – the Vellore Mutiny (1806), the 47th Native Infantry mutiny (1824) at Barrackpore for refusing to cross the seas to Burma, the Sholapur mutiny (1838), and the 1844 and 1849-52 mutinies of the 34th, 22nd, 66th and 37th NI all demonstrated, in retrospect, that the Bengal Army's discontent was structural, not episodic.

Mangal Pandey -- 29 March 1857

The discontent first surfaced on 29 MARCH 1857 when **Mangal Pandey** of the 34th Bengal Native Infantry fired on a British officer, Lieutenant Baugh, at Barrackpore; he was tried and hanged on 8 April. Within five weeks the Meerut rising had begun.

Source: Contemporary British account of Mangal Pandey, paraphrased

A sepoy of the 34th Native Infantry presented himself, fully armed, in front of the quarter-guard, declaiming against the impurity of the cartridges and calling on his fellows to rise. The native officer of the guard refused to interfere. When Lieutenant Baugh rode to the scene, the sepoy fired; the officer's horse was struck and Baugh injured. Pandey was overpowered, tried by court-martial, and hanged on 8 April. The 34th was disbanded.

1.3 Course of the Revolt

1.3.1 The Outbreak -- Meerut and Delhi

On 10 MAY 1857 the 3rd Light Cavalry at Meerut refused to use the cartridges. Eighty-five sepoys were court-martialled and imprisoned on 9 May; that night the sepoys broke into the prison, freed their comrades, killed several British officers and rode to Delhi, sixty kilometres south-west.

On 11 MAY 1857 the aged Mughal Emperor **Bahadur Shah II** (Bahadur Shah Zafar) was proclaimed *Shahenshah-i-Hindustan* – the act that gave the Revolt a unifying symbol. Bahadur Shah was 82, asthmatic, half-blind, but his name carried the legitimacy of three centuries of Mughal rule.

1.3.2 Geographical Spread -- The Storm Centres

Centre	Leader(s)	Course
Delhi	Bahadur Shah II, General Bakht Khan	Captured 11 May 1857; recaptured by British under John Nicholson 20 September 1857. Bahadur Shah exiled to Rangoon; sons executed at Khooni Darwaza.
Cawnpore	Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope, Azimullah Khan, Rao Saheb	British garrison surrendered 27 June 1857; massacred at Sati Chaura Ghat. Recaptured by Havelock; later by Sir Colin Campbell.
Lucknow	Begum Hazrat Mahal, Birjis Qadr; Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah	Residency besieged 1 July onwards; relieved by Outram and Havelock (September), then Campbell (November); finally cleared March 1858.
Jhansi	Rani Lakshmibai	Defended Jhansi heroically against Hugh Rose; fell at Gwalior fighting alongside Tantia Tope; killed in action 17 June 1858.
Bareilly	Khan Bahadur Khan (grandson of Hafiz Rahmat Khan)	Held briefly; crushed in May 1858.
Faizabad	Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah of Faizabad	Religious-revivalist leader; killed June 1858.
Bihar (Arrah, Jagdishpur)	Kunwar Singh	Aged zamindar of Jagdishpur; conducted brilliant guerrilla campaign till his death of wounds, April 1858.
Other	Tantia Tope (Maratha); Firoz Shah of Mandsaur; Devi Singh; Kadam Singh (Tirhut)	Continued guerrilla resistance into 1859.

1.3.3 Geographical Limits -- Why The Revolt Did Not Spread South

The Revolt was confined largely to the Gangetic plain north of the Narmada and west of Bengal proper. South India, Punjab (with the Sikh sepoys recently raised), Sindh and Rajputana stayed largely outside. Five interconnected reasons explain the limit:

1. The **Madras and Bombay armies** – recruited from lower castes, peninsular communities and, in the Bombay case, recently from Mahars – had different service traditions and were not affected by the cartridge rumour to the same degree.
2. **Punjabi loyalty** after the Anglo-Sikh Wars (1845–49) was actively cultivated; many Sikh and Punjabi-Muslim soldiers fought *for* the Company in the recapture of Delhi. The recently-disbanded Khalsa Army had supplied a generation of recruits who held no brief for a Mughal restoration.
3. **Princely states** like Hyderabad (under Salar Jung), Gwalior (Scindia), Patiala, Jind, Nabha, and Travancore stayed loyal. Canning would later acknowledge their support as the saving of the Raj – the famous “breakwaters in the storm” phrase.
4. **The Bengal Presidency proper** (Calcutta region) had a settled, English-educated middle class whose interests were tied to the Company. Calcutta watched the Revolt without joining it.
5. **The geographical reach of British communications** – the railway from Bombay to Thane (1853), the telegraph (1854), the postal service – enabled the rapid mobilisation of reinforcements from Madras, Bombay, Punjab, and from West Asia after the Persian War ended.

1.3.4 Suppression and Chronology of Defeat

- **Delhi recaptured – 20 September 1857.** John Nicholson killed in the assault. Bahadur Shah surrendered at Humayun’s Tomb.
- **Cawnpore retaken – December 1857** by Sir Colin Campbell.
- **Lucknow finally cleared – March 1858.**
- **Jhansi fell – April 1858.**
- **Gwalior fell – June 1858.** Lakshmibai killed in action.
- **Kunwar Singh’s death – 23 April 1858.**
- **Tantia Tope captured and hanged – 18 April 1859.**

By the end of 1858 the central campaign had been won. By mid-1859 the last guerrillas had been mopped up. The Queen’s Proclamation of **1 NOVEMBER 1858**, read out at Allahabad by Lord Canning, marked the formal political end of the Revolt and the beginning of Crown rule.

1.4 Causes -- A Synthesised View

The causes of the Revolt can usefully be grouped into six clusters that converge on the May 1857 outbreak:

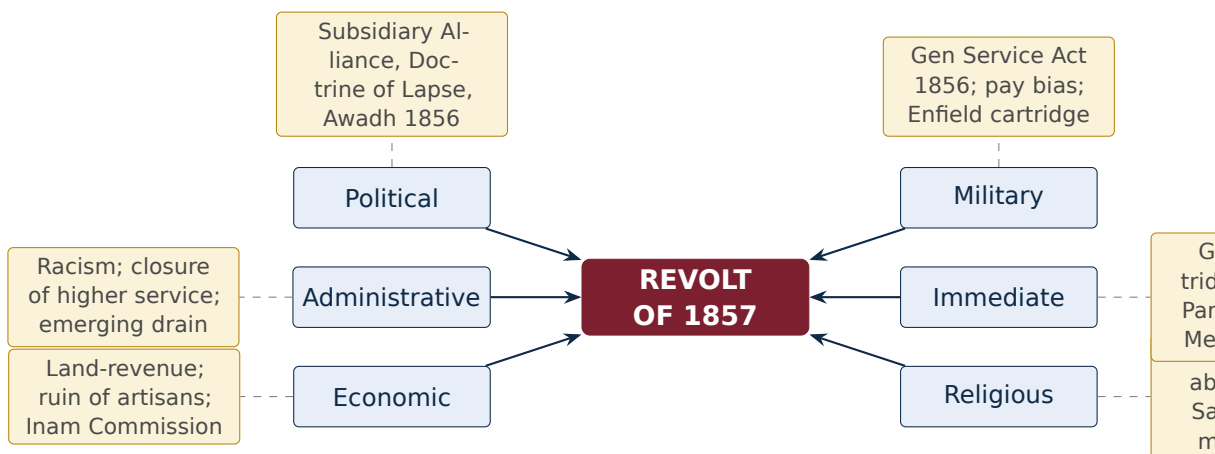


Fig. 1.1 – The six clusters of causes converging on the Revolt of 1857.

1.5 Effects -- The Re-engineering of British India

The defeat of the Revolt was followed by the most far-reaching constitutional, military and social changes the Raj would see until 1919. The 2019 PYQ on 1857 as a “watershed” invites exactly this discussion.

1.5.1 Constitutional Changes -- The Crown Replaces the Company

- **Government of India Act, 1858.** The East India Company was abolished. India was placed under the Crown. The Court of Directors and the Board of Control were replaced by a **Secretary of State for India** in the British Cabinet, advised by a 15-member Council of India in London. The Governor-General became **Viceroy** – the representative of the Crown in addition to head of administration.
- **Queen’s Proclamation, 1 November 1858.** Read out in Allahabad by Lord Canning. Promised: (i) no further annexation of princely states; (ii) respect for the customs and religions of Indians; (iii) equal opportunity in employment, “without distinction of race, creed, or colour”; (iv) honour of treaties with princes. The Queen’s Proclamation has been called the “Magna Carta of British India” – a description as much aspirational as factual.

- **Indian Councils Act, 1861.** Began the slow process of associating Indians with the law-making process by adding non-official Indian members to the Governor-General's Council. Three Indians initially nominated – the Maharaja of Patiala, the Raja of Banaras, Sir Dinkar Rao – a small but politically significant beginning.
- **High Courts Act, 1861.** Established the High Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (replacing the Supreme Courts and Sadar Adalats).
- **Universities Act, 1857.** The three Presidency Universities (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras) had been established in January 1857 – before the Revolt – and continued to expand thereafter. The post-1857 educational architecture would produce the political generation of the 1880s.

1.5.2 Military Reorganisation -- The Peel Commission's Long Shadow

The Peel Commission (1859) examined the post-Revolt military settlement. Its recommendations and subsequent practice produced:

- **British-to-Indian troop ratio** fixed roughly at 1:2 in Bengal and 2:5 in Madras and Bombay; before 1857 the ratio had been around 1:9.
- **Artillery and key technical arms** restricted to British personnel.
- **Martial Races** theory: Sikhs, Gorkhas, Pathans, Dogras, Jats, Mahars were favoured for recruitment; Awadhi and Bihari Brahmins, who had supplied the bulk of the Bengal Army of 1857, were systematically disfavoured.
- **Mixed-regiment principle** – companies of different religions and regions in the same regiment to prevent collective action.
- **No Indian officer corps** – Indians barred from officer ranks until the Indianisation debates of the 1920s.
- **No Indians at higher staff** – a colour bar maintained through the rest of the colonial period.

1.5.3 Policy Towards Princely States -- ``Breakwaters in the Storm''

Canning called the loyal princes *breakwaters in the storm of revolt*. The Doctrine of Lapse was abandoned; the right to adoption was conceded. The princely states were converted into permanent allies of empire. By 1947 there would be 562 princely states formally inside this protective canopy. The August 1858 royal warrant accepting the right of adoption (in cases of failure of natural heirs) was followed by a flurry of *sanads* confirming the integrity of princely territories.

1.5.4 Economic Consequences

- Charges of suppression of the Revolt – the so-called “Mutiny costs” – were billed to Indian revenue. Indian taxpayers paid for their own pacification.
- Public debt and Home Charges escalated, intensifying the **drain of wealth** which Dadabhai Naoroji would systematically expose from the 1870s.
- Famine cycles intensified – the Orissa famine (1866), the Bihar famine (1873-74), the Great Famine of Madras (1876-78) all sit on the shoulder of the post-1857 settlement.
- Rapid railway expansion (Bombay-Allahabad-Calcutta-Madras grid by the late 1860s), telegraph network expansion, postal reforms – all funded partly by Indian revenue and oriented partly to security needs.
- Income tax introduced in 1860 (initially as a war measure) – the first major direct tax of British India.

1.5.5 Social & Racial Aftermath

- British community withdrew socially – the so-called “social distance” policy. The Anglo-Indian club replaced the older mixed durbars.
- Open racism intensified, manifested through the rest of the century – the Ilbert Bill controversy (1883) being its emblematic moment.
- “Divide and rule” techniques became deliberate – a policy that bore its longest harvest in the communal politics of the twentieth century.
- Re-organisation of the police along Irish-Constabulary lines (Police Act 1861).
- The intellectual generation of Bankim Chandra, Naoroji, Ranade, Tilak grew up against the recent memory of 1857 and shaped its politics accordingly.

1.6 Causes of the Failure of the Revolt

The Revolt – pan-Indian in aspiration – failed for seven interconnected reasons:

1. **Limited geographical spread.** South, west, Punjab and Bengal proper stayed out.
2. **No unified leadership.** Bahadur Shah was titular. Each centre had its own commander – Nana Saheb in Cawnpore, Tantia Tope in the central campaign, Lakshmibai in Jhansi, Hazrat Mahal in Lucknow, Kunwar Singh in Bihar – but there was no central command.
3. **No common ideology.** Restoration of the Mughal order, the Maratha Peshwa-ship, the Awadhi Nawabate – not a republican or modern-nationalist vision.
4. **Loyalty of princely states** and of newly-loyal Sikh-Punjabi forces.

5. **Material inferiority** – no artillery match for the British, no rail-telegraph reach, no industrial production of small arms.
6. **The Indian middle class** – especially Calcutta-educated – stayed aloof. The new commercial and professional class saw no future in a Mughal restoration.
7. **Lack of foresight and organisation** – the Revolt was spontaneous, reactive, episodic rather than strategic. Coordinated planning would have required communications that the rebels did not have.

1.7 Historiography -- Five Schools of Interpretation

The single most distinguishing feature of an examiner-friendly answer on 1857 is the explicit naming of the historiographical schools. Five recognised positions:

School	Representatives	Argument
Imperialist / Colonialist	John Lawrence, J.W. Kaye (<i>History of the Sepoy War</i>), T.R. Holmes, V.A. Smith	A <i>sepoy mutiny</i> – localised, fanatical, religious in motive. Denies political-national character. The greased cartridge “did not create either the mutiny or the rebels; it merely lit the fire” (Lawrence).
Nationalist	V.D. Savarkar (<i>The Indian War of Independence</i> , 1909), S.B. Chaudhuri (<i>Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India</i>), R.C. Majumdar (in a complex position)	The <i>First War of Indian Independence</i> – planned, pan-Indian in aspiration. Savarkar’s term itself stuck. Majumdar later famously disagreed.
Marxist / Radical	Talmiz Khaldun, Karl Marx’s contemporary letters to the New York Daily Tribune, P.C. Joshi (ed., <i>Rebellion 1857</i>)	A <i>popular peasant and feudal uprising</i> against an alien commercial capitalist regime; revolutionary in form, feudal in content. The Revolt as the last sigh of the old order and the first cry of the new.
Subaltern / Social History	Eric Stokes (<i>The Peasant Armed</i>), Rudrangshu Mukherjee (<i>Awadh in Revolt 1857-58</i>), Iqbal Husain	Foreground peasant agency, regional variation, taluqdari grievances; rejects single-cause narratives.
Cambridge Revisionist	Christopher Bayly (<i>Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire</i>), Eric Stokes (in part)	Stresses internal collaboration networks, regional self-interest, fluid alliances; rejects both colonialist and nationalist absolutes.

1.7.1 The Most Famous Position -- R. C. Majumdar's Denial

R. C. Majumdar – a Bengali nationalist historian, asked by the Government of India to write the centenary history of the Revolt – famously refused to call it the first national war of independence. In his *Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857* (1957) he declared:

The so-called First National War of Independence of 1857 is neither First, nor National, nor a War of Independence.

S. N. Sen, the official historian of the centenary volume, struck a middle position: the Revolt “began as a fight for religion but ended as a war of independence.”

Surendra Nath Sen pointed out that no single contemporary actor articulated the language of *nation* in its modern sense; Bipan Chandra and his collaborators counter that the search for *modern nationalism* in 1857 is anachronistic – the Revolt should be evaluated on its own historical terms as the largest pre-Congress challenge to colonial rule.

1.7.2 Karl Marx in 1857

A particularly remarkable archival fact: **Karl Marx wrote a series of articles on the Revolt for the New York Daily Tribune in 1857-58**, calling the uprising a popular war against alien oppression. His pieces are among the earliest scholarly readings of the Revolt by a non-Indian observer, and have been mined by later Marxist historians for evidence of contemporary class analysis.

EXAMINER'S INSIGHT | Which School to Adopt in an Answer

The examiner does not require you to *commit* to one school. A balanced answer typically (i) presents the colonialist ‘mutiny’ view, (ii) sets out the nationalist ‘war of independence’ position with Savarkar’s claim, (iii) introduces the Marxist class-character reading, (iv) closes with the subaltern/-Cambridge synthesis: a multi-class, regionally-uneven, pre-nationalist rebellion whose suppression nonetheless re-engineered India for the modern nationalist movement that followed. This four-step structure has fetched top marks in TCS papers.

1.8 Important Personalities of 1857

1.8.1 Bahadur Shah II (Bahadur Shah Zafar, 1775-1862)

The last Mughal emperor; poet, calligrapher, Sufi adherent; proclaimed *Shahenshah-i-Hindustan* on 11 May 1857 by the Meerut sepoys. Tried, condemned, exiled to Rangoon (Yangon); died there 1862 and was buried in Rangoon.

1.8.2 Nana Saheb Peshwa II (1824-?)

Adopted son of the last Maratha Peshwa Bajji Rao II. Refused recognition and the family pension after Bajji Rao’s death. Led Cawnpore from late June 1857; supervised the Sati Chaura Ghat massacre; vanished into the Terai jungles after the British recaptured Cawnpore.

1.8.3 Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi (1828-1858)

Manikarnika Tambe, married to Raja Gangadhar Rao of Jhansi; widowed 1853. Petitioned for recognition of her adopted son Damodar Rao; rejected by Dalhousie under the Lapse doctrine. Took command at Jhansi in mid-1857. Defended Jhansi against Hugh Rose's Central India Field Force; broke out and joined Tantia Tope at Kalpi, then Gwalior. Killed in action on 17 June 1858 (some accounts 18 June).

1.8.4 Tantia Tope (1814-1859)

Real name Ramachandra Pandurang Tope; the most brilliant guerrilla leader of the Revolt. Lieutenant of Nana Saheb. Conducted the central-India campaign with great mobility; finally betrayed and captured; hanged at Sipri on 18 April 1859.

1.8.5 Begum Hazrat Mahal (1820-1879)

Wife of the deposed Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Awadh; proclaimed her young son Birjis Qadr as the Nawab and ruled Lucknow during the siege. Refused British amnesty after the recapture; escaped to Nepal; died at Kathmandu in 1879.

1.8.6 Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah of Faizabad

Religious-revivalist Sufi figure of Awadh; preached against British rule from late 1856; held Lucknow with Hazrat Mahal; led the rebel column at Shahjahanpur after Lucknow fell; killed in action June 1858.

1.8.7 Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur (1777-1858)

Octogenarian zamindar of Jagdishpur, Bihar; principal leader of the Revolt in Bihar; conducted brilliant guerrilla campaigns across the Vindhya region. Severely wounded; died at Jagdishpur on 23 April 1858. The 2023 PYQ MCQ tested his identification as the principal Bihar rebel.

1.8.8 General Bakht Khan

Commander of the rebel force at Delhi; effective military head under Bahadur Shah's nominal authority. Led the defence of Delhi against the British siege.

1.8.9 John Lawrence, John Nicholson, Sir Henry Lawrence, Outram, Havelock, Campbell, Hugh Rose

The British generals who suppressed the Revolt. John Nicholson died in the assault on Delhi (September 1857). Henry Lawrence died defending the Lucknow Residency (July 1857). Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde) and Hugh Rose are cred-

ited with the central campaign's success.

1.9 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Tripura and 1857

The king of Tripura during the 1857 Revolt was Maharaja Ishan Chandra Manikya (reign 1849–1862). The 2023 PYQ MCQ tested this – the option set included the four candidate Manikya kings (Bir Chandra, Birendra Kishore, Bir Bikram), but Ishan Chandra is the correct answer.

Princely Tripura did not participate in the Revolt. Three reasons explain its absence:

1. **Geographic isolation.** The hills of Tripura were not connected to the Gangetic plain by rail, telegraph or metalled road in 1857. The Revolt's centres of mobilisation – Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Jhansi – lay weeks of march to the west.
2. **Treaty obligations.** By the 1850s the Manikya state was already in a treaty relationship with the Company. The Chakla Roshanabad zamindari – in Comilla, Brahmanbaria, Sylhet and Noakhali districts of plains Bengal – was held by Tripura as a feudatory tenure granted by the Nawab of Bengal. The relationship which the Company inherited bound the Manikya court to fiscal cooperation.
3. **Internal stability.** The Manikya court was preoccupied with consolidation in the hills after the Kuki raids of the 1830s-40s and was not interested in joining a rebellion whose outcome was uncertain.

Post-1857 consolidation. Tripura's loyalty was rewarded after 1858 by the formal recognition of the Manikya succession and by the Queen's Proclamation's general undertaking to honour treaty obligations. The first **Political Agent** was posted in Tripura in 1871, during the reign of Maharaja Bir Chandra Manikya, partly as a consequence of the new princely architecture put in place after 1857.

Tribal parallels. While Tripura's court stayed quiet, tribal communities in the hills developed their own patterns of resistance to outside authority in the same decades. The **Jamatia Uprising of 1863** – a tribal revolt against revenue demands and forced labour – followed only six years after 1857 and demonstrates that the revolutionary energies of mid-nineteenth-century India were not confined to the Gangetic plain.

Examination linkage. An answer on 1857 that mentions Ishan Chandra Manikya, the Chakla Roshanabad arrangement, the post-1857 Political Agent and the Jamatia Uprising of 1863 establishes the Tripura dimension that the

TCS / TPS examiner expects. Memorise these four landmarks.

1.10 Recent Relevance

- **Commemoration.** The Government of India's 150th anniversary commemoration of 1857 (2007) generated a wave of fresh scholarship – monographs by Rudrangshu Mukherjee, Iqbal Husain, Crispin Bates, Andrew Wagner, William Dalrymple (*The Last Mughal*). The 175th anniversary (2032) is on the horizon.
- **Bahadur Shah Zafar's memory.** The Government of India has repeatedly attempted to repatriate the symbolic remains of Zafar from Yangon. The tomb in Yangon has been maintained as a pilgrimage site. Zafar's ghazals – particularly *Lagta nahin hai ji mera* – have entered the popular cultural imagination through cinema.
- **ASI conservation.** The Lucknow Residency, the Kanpur Memorial, Jhansi Fort, and the Red Fort's Mughal quarters have been re-conserved and opened for academic and pedagogic use.
- **Birsa Munda & tribal recovery.** The Government of India's declaration of **15 November** as *Janjatiya Gaurav Diwas* (2021) for Birsa Munda's birth anniversary has foregrounded the tribal parallel to the Revolt – Birsa's Ulgulan (1899-1900) is now read in continuity with the 1857 tradition of resistance.
- **Renaming.** Various streets, institutions and military formations have been renamed for 1857 leaders – Tantia Tope University, Mangal Pandey halls of residence at universities, Rani Lakshmibai memorials.
- **Kunwar Singh in Bihar political memory.** The Government of Bihar has elevated Kunwar Singh as the principal anti-colonial icon of the state. His samadhi at Jagdishpur is a state-funded pilgrimage site.

1.11 Key Terms

Subsidiary Alliance

A system devised by Lord Wellesley (1798) under which an Indian state had to accept a British force in its territory, pay for it, accept a British Resident, and renounce independent diplomacy.

Doctrine of Lapse

Lord Dalhousie's policy (1848-56) of refusing to recognise an adopted heir's right to succeed to a princely state that owed its existence or independence to

the British. Abandoned post-1858.

Greased Cartridge

The cartridge of the Enfield rifle (introduced 1857), which had to be bitten open; rumoured to be greased with cow and pig fat, offending both Hindu and Muslim sepoys.

General Service Enlistment Act, 1856

Act requiring new recruits of the Bengal Army to serve overseas; offended caste-Hindus' kala-pani taboo.

Sati Chaura Ghat

The ghat on the Ganga at Cawnpore (Kanpur) where, on 27 June 1857, the British garrison that had surrendered to Nana Saheb was massacred while embarking on river-boats.

Queen's Proclamation, 1858

The Royal Proclamation read at Allahabad by Lord Canning on 1 November 1858 transferring authority over India from the Company to the Crown, with promises of religious non-interference and treaty observance.

1.12 Timeline -- 1857-58 at a Glance

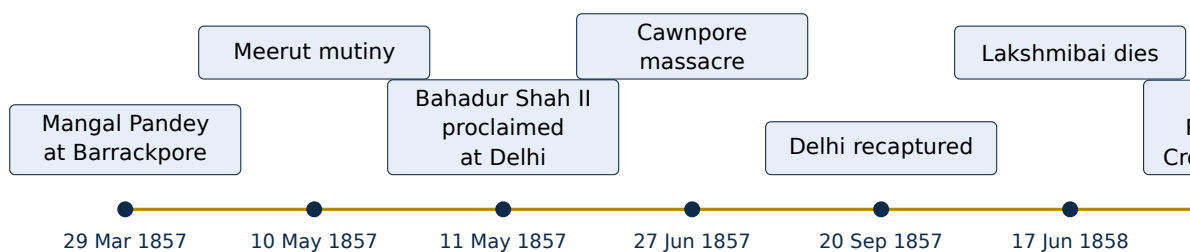


Fig. 1.2 – Key milestones of 1857-58.

1.13 Comparative Analysis

1.13.1 1857 vs Later Movements

Parameter	1857 Revolt	Moderate Phase (1885–1905)	Gandhian Phase (1919–47)
Leadership	Princes, sepoys, taluqdars, religious leaders	English-educated professionals	Mass leadership; Congress
Goal	Restoration of old order	Reform under British framework	Swaraj / Purna Swaraj
Method	Armed uprising	Petition, prayer, press	Non-violent mass mobilisation
Geographical reach	Gangetic plain	Urban metropolises	Pan-Indian, including villages
Outcome	Crushed; Company abolished	Limited concessions	Independence 1947

1.13.2 1857 vs Earlier Sepoy Mutinies

Mutiny	Year & Place	Cause / Outcome
Vellore Mutiny	1806 (Vellore, Madras)	Religious interference (turban, beard) provoked; sepoys revolted, raised the flag of Mysore; crushed.
47th Mutiny	NI 1824 (Barrackpore)	Refused to cross seas to Burma; broken up.
Sholapur Mutiny	1838 (Sholapur)	Sepoy revolt; crushed.
Native infantry mutinies	In-Mu- 1844, 1849, 1850, 1852	34th, 22nd, 66th, 37th NI; each crushed locally.
1857	1857-58 (pan-North-India)	Pan-Indian aspiration; multi-class; first to overthrow Company itself.

These earlier sepoy mutinies were local, brief, and easily crushed; 1857 was uniquely pan-Indian in scope, sustained over 18 months, and forced the dissolution of the East India Company itself.

1.14 Important Facts

- Mangal Pandey of the 34th BNI fired on Lt. Baugh on 29 MARCH 1857; hanged 8 APRIL 1857.
- Meerut sepoys broke out on 10 MAY 1857; Delhi captured 11 MAY 1857.
- Bahadur Shah II crowned symbolic emperor; exiled to Rangoon in 1858; died there 1862.
- Lord Canning – Governor-General during the Revolt; later India's first Viceroy.
- Rani Lakshmibai died in battle at Gwalior on 17 JUNE 1858 (some sources 18 June).
- Nana Saheb's adopted-father Baji Rao II's pension was the immediate Cawnpore grievance.
- Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur – the Bihar leader; died April 1858 of wounds sustained at the battle of Jagdishpur. (2023 PYQ MCQ.)
- Tantia Tope – the most brilliant guerrilla leader; hanged 18 April 1859.
- "Doctrine of Lapse" – Dalhousie; reversed by Canning post-1858.
- Government of India Act 1858 – Crown takes over; Secretary of State created.
- Indian Councils Act 1861 – non-official Indian members added.
- Universities Act of 1857 – Calcutta, Bombay, Madras universities established (January 1857).
- Income tax introduced 1860 as a war measure.
- Sati Chaura Ghat massacre – Cawnpore, 27 June 1857.
- In Bihar, the principal rebel was **Kunwar Singh** (2023 PYQ MCQ).

1.15 Value Addition -- Quotations & Data

VALUE ADDITION

Famous lines to memorise:

- *"The so-called First National War of Independence of 1857 is neither First, nor National, nor a War of Independence."* – R. C. Majumdar.
- *"The Revolt began as a fight for religion and ended as a war of independence."* – S. N. Sen.
- *"Princely India was a breakwater in the storm of revolt."* – Lord Canning.
- *"The greased cartridge did not create either the mutiny or the rebels; it merely lit the fire."* – John Lawrence.
- Karl Marx (New York Daily Tribune, 1857-58) called the Revolt a *popular war* against British rule.

Data & Documents to cite:

- Queen's Proclamation, 1 November 1858 – a constitutional milestone.
- Government of India Act 1858 – abolition of the Company.
- Indian Councils Act 1861 – first legislative association of Indians.
- Inam Commission, 1852 – 20,000 estates resumed in the Deccan.
- Bengal Army composition: roughly one-third Awadhi recruitment by 1856.
- British-Indian troop ratio: pre-1857 about 1:9; post-1857 about 1:2 in Bengal.

1.16 PYQs with Model Answers

PYQ 2019 (5m) -- 1857 as a Watershed in British Policy

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

The Revolt of 1857 served as a structural watershed because it converted the British Indian polity from a chartered-company regime into a Crown-administered empire and forced a wholesale revision of every major colonial policy.

Constitutional rupture: The Government of India Act, 1858, abolished the East India Company and created the office of the Secretary of State for India, while the Queen's Proclamation (1 November 1858) promised non-annexation and religious non-interference.

Military overhaul: The army was racially reorganised, the British-Indian troop ratio reset from 1:9 to 1:2, the Martial Races doctrine adopted, and artillery monopolised by Europeans.

Princely policy reversed: The Doctrine of Lapse was abandoned; princes became Canning's "breakwaters" of empire.

Social-administrative caution: Direct interference with custom slowed; "divide-and-rule" as deliberate strategy was institutionalised; racial separation entrenched.

The Revolt therefore did not produce immediate political emancipation but produced the colonial architecture against which modern Indian nationalism would later mobilise.

PYQ 2021 (5m) -- Subsidiary Alliance & Doctrine of Lapse and 1857

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

Wellesley's **Subsidiary Alliance** (1798-1805) reduced major Indian states – Hyderabad, Awadh, the Peshwa, Scindia – to fiscal dependence on the Company, while Dalhousie's **Doctrine of Lapse** (1848-56) used the legal device of non-recognition of adopted heirs to annex Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur and Sambalpur.

These policies contributed to the Revolt in three interlocking ways. *First*, they manufactured rebel leadership: Nana Saheb (Peshwa's adopted son), Rani Lakshmibai (Jhansi) and Begum Hazrat Mahal (Awadh) all carried direct personal grievances rooted in these doctrines. *Second*, the 1856 annexation of Awadh – the chief recruitment ground of the Bengal Army – attached the sepoys' family interests to the rebel cause. *Third*, they generated a permanent climate of insecurity among other princes, many of whom either openly supported the revolt or covertly facilitated it.

Subsidiary Alliance and Lapse were therefore not the sole causes – but they supplied the cadre of leaders.

PYQ 2023 (10m) -- Causes of 1857 & National Character (5+5)

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

Causes (5 marks). The Revolt was the product of long-accumulated discontents that converged in May 1857. *Political:* Subsidiary Alliance, Doctrine of Lapse, Awadh annexation (1856). *Economic:* Land-revenue settlements (Permanent, Ryotwari, Mahalwari); ruin of artisans by British manufactures; Inam Commission (1852). *Religious-Social:* Religious Disabilities Act (1850); Hindu Widow Remarriage Act (1856); missionary activity; rumours of cow and pig-fat in greased cartridges of the Enfield rifle. *Military:* General Service Enlistment Act (1856), pay discrimination, no promotion for Indians. *Immediate:* Mangal Pandey's act on 29 March 1857; Meerut outbreak on 10 May 1857.

National character (5 marks). Schools of historiography divide sharply. The *colonialist* school (Lawrence, Kaye) calls it a sepoy mutiny. V. D. Savarkar's 1909 *Indian War of Independence* reads it as the first national war. R. C. Majumdar disagrees – "neither First, nor National, nor a War of Independence." S. N. Sen adopts a middle line: a religious fight that turned into a war of indepen-

dence. *Marxist* historians (Talmiz Khaldun, P. C. Joshi) read a peasant-feudal alliance against alien capitalism. *Cambridge / Subaltern* scholars (Eric Stokes, Bayly, Mukherjee) stress regional variation, taluqdari networks and peasant agency.

Conclusion. The Revolt lacked a modern national ideology, a unified leadership or all-India geographic reach – it cannot be called a national movement in the post-1885 sense. But it was India's largest pre-Congress challenge to colonial rule, multi-class in composition and pan-Hindustani in symbolism. It is best read as a *pre-national rebellion* whose suppression created the colonial architecture against which the later national movement would mobilise.

1.17 Sample Questions -- Three Difficulty Bands

Easy (Factual / 5 marks)

1. Identify the main centres of the Revolt of 1857 with their leaders.
2. What were the immediate causes of the Revolt of 1857?
3. Who was Mangal Pandey, and what was his role in the Revolt?
4. State the principal terms of the Queen's Proclamation, 1858.

Moderate (Analytical / 5--10 marks)

5. Discuss the role of economic factors in causing the Revolt of 1857.
6. "The Revolt of 1857 was the result of a century of accumulated grievance." Discuss.
7. Examine the consequences of the Revolt of 1857 on the British military organisation in India.
8. Compare the policy towards princely states before and after 1857.

Difficult (Historiographical / 10 marks)

9. Critically analyse the historiographical debate on the character of the Revolt of 1857.
10. "The Revolt of 1857 was a watershed in the evolution of British policies in India." Evaluate.
11. Examine the Marxist and Subaltern readings of the Revolt of 1857.
12. Discuss the regional variations in the conduct of the Revolt of 1857.

1.18 Practice Questions

1. "Religious factors played a more decisive role in 1857 than political or economic ones." Critically discuss. (10)
2. Examine why the Revolt did not spread to South India and the Punjab. (5)
3. Evaluate the contribution of Kunwar Singh to the Revolt of 1857. (5)
4. Discuss the role of the Princely States in the Revolt of 1857 and the British policy towards them thereafter. (10)
5. Compare and contrast the leadership of Nana Saheb and Rani Lakshmibai. (5)
6. Discuss the significance of the Queen's Proclamation, 1858. (5)
7. Examine the British military reforms after 1857. (10)
8. Trace the role of the Mughal symbol in the Revolt of 1857. (10)

1.19 Examiner's Expectations

EXAMINER'S INSIGHT | What Earns Marks

- Naming **at least three historiographical schools** with their representatives.
- Mentioning **specific dates** (29 March, 10 May, 1 November 1858).
- Distinguishing **causes** from **consequences**; do not blur the two.
- Including a **Tripura linkage** when the question permits (Ishan Chandra Manikya; Chakla Roshanabad; Political Agent 1871).
- A clear **introduction-body-conclusion** structure with sub-headings.
- One or two **quotation** – Majumdar's denial, Lawrence's metaphor, Canning's breakwaters.

Common Mistakes

- Calling the Revolt a "war of independence" without acknowledging that this is one position among several.
- Confusing the General Service Enlistment Act (1856) with the Religious Disabilities Act (1850).
- Attributing the Doctrine of Lapse to Bentinck or Wellesley – it was Dalhousie.
- Forgetting that Bahadur Shah was titular – he had no operational command.
- Skipping the post-Revolt military reforms when asked about "effects".
- Treating Mangal Pandey as the cause of the Revolt – he was the first incident, not the cause.

- Confusing the Sati Chaura Ghat massacre (Cawnpore, June 1857) with the Bibighar killings (Cawnpore, July 1857).

1.20 Revision Notes

REVISION CAPSULE | One-Glance Recap

- **Date:** 10 May 1857 (Meerut) – 1858 (suppression).
- **Symbolic head:** Bahadur Shah II (last Mughal).
- **Key leaders:** Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope, Rani Lakshmibai, Begum Hazrat Mahal, Maulvi Ahmadullah, Kunwar Singh.
- **Five clusters of causes:** Political (Subsidiary Alliance, Lapse, Awadh annexation); Economic (land-revenue, artisans); Religious (cartridges, missionaries, Disabilities Act); Military (pay, promotion, General Service Act); Immediate (Mangal Pandey, cartridges).
- **Effects:** Act of 1858, Queen's Proclamation, Crown takes over, Indian Councils Act 1861, military overhaul, Doctrine of Lapse abandoned.
- **Historiography:** Imperialist (mutiny), Nationalist (Savarkar), Marxist (Khalidun, Joshi, Marx), Cambridge (Bayly, Stokes), Subaltern (Mukherjee).
- **Tripura King in 1857:** Maharaja Ishan Chandra Manikya.
- **Why it failed:** no unified leadership, no common ideology, limited geographic reach, princely loyalty, material inferiority, middle-class aloofness, lack of foresight.

1.21 Quick Revision Sheet

QUICK REVISION SHEET

CHAPTER 1 – REVOLT OF 1857 | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Defining feature: Largest pre-Congress challenge to colonial rule; multi-class, multi-region; failed but reshaped the Raj.

Timeline: Mangal Pandey 29 Mar 1857 → Meerut 10 May → Delhi 11 May → Cawnpore Jun → Delhi recaptured 20 Sep → Rani Lakshmibai 17 Jun 1858 → Queen's Proclamation 1 Nov 1858.

Six causes: Political (Subsidiary Alliance, Lapse, Awadh) | Military (Enfield, Gen. Service Act) | Economic (revenue settlements, artisans, Inam) | Religious (Disabilities Act, cartridge rumour) | Administrative (racism) | Immediate (Pandey, Meerut).

Centres & leaders: Delhi - Bahadur Shah/Bakht Khan | Cawnpore - Nana Saheb/Tantia Tope | Lucknow - Hazrat Mahal/Birjis Qadr | Jhansi - Laksh-

mibai | Bihar - Kunwar Singh | Faizabad - Ahmadullah Shah.

Why it failed: no unity, no ideology, limited reach, princely loyalty, material inferiority, middle-class aloofness.

Effects: Act of 1858 | Queen's Proclamation | Indian Councils Act 1861 | Military 1:2 ratio | Martial Races doctrine | Lapse abandoned | Drain intensified | Divide & rule formalised.

Historiography: Mutiny (Lawrence) | War of Independence (Savarkar 1909) | Mixed (S. N. Sen) | Marxist (Khalidun, Joshi, Marx 1857) | Subaltern (Stokes, Mukherjee) | Cambridge (Bayly).

Tripura tag: Ishan Chandra Manikya ruled (1849–62); state outside Revolt; Chakla Roshanabad relationship continued; Political Agent posted 1871; Jamatia Uprising 1863.

Famous lines to quote: "Neither First, nor National, nor a War of Independence" – Majumdar; "Began as religion, ended as independence" – S. N. Sen; "Breakwaters in the storm" – Canning.

1.22 Chapter Summary

The Revolt of 1857 was the most consequential challenge the British Empire in India faced before the twentieth century. Rooted in a century of accumulated political, economic, military and religious grievances, sparked by the General Service Enlistment Act, the annexation of Awadh and the greased Enfield cartridges, and ignited by Mangal Pandey on 29 March and the Meerut sepoys on 10 May 1857, the Revolt pulled in deposed princes, peasants, artisans and religious leaders across the Gangetic plain. It failed – but it ended the East India Company, brought India under direct Crown rule, restructured the army, reversed the Doctrine of Lapse, intensified the drain of wealth, and produced the colonial architecture against which the modern Indian national movement would later mobilise. Historiographically, the Revolt has been read as a sepoy mutiny (imperialist), a first war of independence (Savarkar, nationalist), a peasant-feudal uprising (Marxist), and a regionally-uneven multi-class rebellion (Cambridge / Subaltern). In Tripura, Maharaja Ishan Chandra Manikya ruled during the Revolt; the Manikya state stayed outside the uprising but the post-1857 settlement consolidated its position as a treaty princely state.

1.23 Chapter-end Exercises

Identify in one or two lines each:

1. Subsidiary Alliance
2. Doctrine of Lapse
3. Annexation of Awadh (1856)
4. General Service Enlistment Act (1856)
5. Mangal Pandey
6. Bahadur Shah II
7. Nana Saheb Peshwa II
8. Rani Lakshmibai
9. Tantia Tope
10. Begum Hazrat Mahal
11. Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah
12. Kunwar Singh
13. Sati Chaura Ghat
14. Government of India Act, 1858
15. Queen's Proclamation, 1858
16. Indian Councils Act, 1861
17. Peel Commission
18. Martial Races theory
19. R. C. Majumdar's verdict on 1857
20. Savarkar's reading of 1857
21. Karl Marx on 1857
22. Maharaja Ishan Chandra Manikya
23. Chakla Roshanabad
24. Jamatia Uprising, 1863

GROWTH OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

"The Indian National Congress was as much the result as the cause of Indian national feeling."

— Bipan Chandra

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 2 -- Growth of Indian Nationalism: Historiography, Causes, Growth of Organization, Press and Literature in Nineteenth-Century India.

2.1 Why This Chapter Matters

The 2023 mains explicitly asked "Analyse the various schools of historiography on Indian nationalism" as a 10-mark question. The 2019 paper carried a 5-mark question on the impact of the press on nationalism. Every cycle has carried MCQs on pre-Congress organisations or 19th-century editors.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021, 2023

- (2019, 5m) Impact of Press on Indian Nationalism in the 19th century.
- (2021, 5m) Contribution of the Home Rule Movement to nationalism.
- (2023, 10m) Analyse the various schools of historiography on Indian nationalism.

- (2019 MCQ) Nationalist historian among the options – R. C. Majumdar.
- (2019 MCQ) *Neel-darpan* – portrays indigo farmers' plight.
- (2019 MCQ) Periodicals & editors – *Yugantar* (Bhupendra Nath Dutta), *Sandhya* (Brahmabandhab Upadhyay).

2.1 Conceptual Introduction

Indian nationalism did not arrive in a single moment. It emerged from the slow convergence of several streams: a colonial print public, a Western-educated professional class, the consolidation of an India-wide administrative grid, the trauma of recurrent famines, and the steadily articulated economic critique of the drain of wealth. By 1885 – when 72 delegates met in Bombay under A. O. Hume's gentle midwifery to constitute the Indian National Congress – almost every element of twentieth-century nationalism was already in place.

Indian nationalism was *not* a copy of the European prototype. Bipan Chandra's insistence – “against colonialism but inside colonial modernity” – captures the paradox: it used the press, the railway, the post office, the law-courts and the universities that the empire had built. This paradox is its defining feature.

2.2 Causes -- Why Nationalism Grew in the 19th Century

2.2.1 Political-Administrative Causes

- **Unification of India.** For the first time in centuries the sub-continent was administered under a single political authority with a uniform legal code (Indian Penal Code 1860; CrPC 1861), a single currency, a single fiscal calendar and a single language of administration (English at the higher levels).
- **Modern communications.** Railways from 1853 onwards; telegraph from 1854; postal service standardised in 1854; uniform postage stamps – all shrank political distance, enabling thinkers in Bombay to read what was being written in Calcutta within days.
- **Lord Lytton's reactionary policies.** The Vernacular Press Act 1878, the Arms Act 1878 and the Imperial Durbar of 1877 (held during the Great Famine of southern India) crystallised early nationalist resentment.
- **Ilbert Bill controversy (1883).** Lord Ripon's modest proposal to allow Indian magistrates to try Europeans in mofussil courts was wrecked by an organised European protest – a public lesson in colonial racism that catalysed Indian political organisation.

- **Race discrimination in higher services.** The age-limit for the Indian Civil Service was lowered from 23 to 19 in 1876, effectively excluding Indians who could not study in England as young adolescents. The agitation against the age-limit was an early all-India political cause.

2.2.2 Economic Causes

- **Drain of Wealth** theory – Dadabhai Naoroji (*Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, 1901), R. C. Dutt (*Economic History of India*, two volumes 1902 and 1904) and the quantitative critique of land-revenue laid the empirical groundwork for an Indian nationalist economics.
- **Famines.** The Great Famine of 1876-78 in Madras and southern India, the Orissa famine of 1866, and the famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900 made the moral case against empire impossible to dismiss.
- **De-industrialisation.** The collapse of indigenous handicrafts under competition from machine-made British goods was tracked in detail by Naoroji and Dutt.
- **Indian-British trade pattern.** India became a market for British manufactures and a source of raw materials; the terms of trade ran consistently in Britain's favour.

2.2.3 Social-Religious Causes -- The Reform Movements

- **Brahmo Samaj** (Ram Mohan Roy, 1828) – monotheistic, social-reformist Hindu modernism.
- **Prarthana Samaj** (M. G. Ranade and Atmaram Pandurang, 1867) – Maharashtra.
- **Arya Samaj** (Dayanand Saraswati, 1875) – Vedic revivalist, anti-idolatry, anti-caste in principle.
- **Ramakrishna Mission** (Swami Vivekananda, 1897) – philosophical universalism, service-orientation.
- **Aligarh Movement** (Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, 1875) – Western education for Indian Muslims.
- **Theosophical Society** – founded in New York (1875); HQ moved to Adyar (Madras) under H. P. Blavatsky; Annie Besant became President in India after 1893.
- **Caste-reform movements** – Jyotirao Phule's Satyashodhak Samaj (1873); Narayana Guru's SNDP Yogam (1903).

These movements generated a vocabulary of reform, self-respect, and Indian civilisational pride that the later political movement would inherit.

2.2.4 Educational Causes

- Macaulay's Minute (1835) institutionalised English education at the higher level; Wood's Despatch (1854) extended a graded school system; the three Presidency Universities – Calcutta, Bombay, Madras – were established in 1857.
- Hunter Commission (1882) on education extended primary education in regional languages.
- By the 1870s a Western-educated Indian middle class – lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists – existed in every major city. They became the natural recruiting ground for the Congress.
- Ironically, the same Macaulayite curriculum that was meant to produce “Indians in blood and colour, English in tastes” produced a generation that read John Stuart Mill on liberty and applied his lessons to colonial India.

2.2.5 The Re-Discovery of India's Past

Western Indology (William Jones, Max Muller, Monier-Williams) and Indian scholarship (R. G. Bhandarkar, Bhau Daji, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajit) restored a usable Indian antiquity to the colonised mind. The work of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (founded 1784) and Pune's Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (founded 1917) gave the Indian middle class a sense of civilisational continuity.

2.3 Press in 19th-Century India

The 2019 PYQ asked specifically about the role of the Press; the topic is one of the most assured 5-mark questions in the syllabus.

2.3.1 Foundational Newspapers

- **Bengal Gazette / Calcutta General Advertiser** (1780) – James Augustus Hicky's paper; the first newspaper of British India. Hicky was prosecuted by the Company and his press confiscated – a precedent for the press-state confrontation that would define Indian journalism.
- **Sambad Kaumudi** (1821) – Ram Mohan Roy's Bengali weekly; first major Indian-owned reform paper.
- **Mirat-ul-Akhbar** (1822) – Ram Mohan Roy's Persian-language paper.
- **Digdarshan** (1818) – Serampore Mission's Bengali periodical.

2.3.2 Bengali Press

- **Hindu Patriot** (1853) – edited by Harish Chandra Mukherjee from 1855. Exposed Indigo planters' atrocities during the Indigo Revolt of 1859-60. Mukher-

jee's death in 1861 from over-work has been called the first journalistic martyrdom of Indian nationalism.

- **Amrita Bazar Patrika** (1868) – Sisir Kumar Ghosh & Motilal Ghosh; began as Bengali; switched to English within 24 hours of the Vernacular Press Act in 1878 to escape its provisions (a famous tactical move).
- **Bangabasi** – gathered orthodox Hindu opinion.
- **Som Prakash** – Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's reformist Bengali weekly.
- **Sanjeevani** – Krishna Kumar Mitra.

2.3.3 English-Language Indian Press

- **The Hindu** (Madras, 1878) – founded by "Six Members" (M. Veera Raghavachariar, T. T. Rangacharlu, P. V. Ranga Iyengar, D. Kesava Rao Pantulu, N. Subba Rao Pantulu, G. S. Aiyar). G. S. Aiyar emerged as the editor.
- **Kesari** (Marathi, 1881) and **Mahratta** (English, 1881) – founded by Bal Gangadhar Tilak with G. G. Agarkar, V. K. Chiplunkar.
- **Sudharak** – Gopal Krishna Gokhale.
- **Bande Mataram** (1906) – Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal; the most influential nationalist organ of the Swadeshi period.
- **Yugantar** (1906) – Bhupendra Nath Dutta (Vivekananda's younger brother) and Barindra Ghosh; revolutionary tone.
- **Sandhya** – Brahmbandhab Upadhyay; revolutionary nationalist.
- **New India** – Annie Besant; the Home Rule organ.
- **Punjabee** – Lala Lajpat Rai.
- **Indian Mirror** – Devendranath Tagore (Moderate orientation).
- **Statesman** – Anglo-Indian but read by Indian elite.

2.3.4 The Vernacular Press Act, 1878

Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act empowered magistrates to seize the printing press of any vernacular paper that published material likely to excite disaffection. The Act was loudly nationalist in its enemies – the press did not back down, and the Act was repealed in 1882 by Lord Ripon. Its real legacy was the demonstration that a free press was both a fragile gift and a non-negotiable Indian demand.

2.3.5 Newspaper Act 1908 & Press Act 1910

Following the Swadeshi militancy of 1905-08, the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act 1908 and the Indian Press Act 1910 again clamped down on the nationalist press. Tilak's six-year transportation to Mandalay (1908) was the most famous

prosecution under these provisions.

2.4 Literature & the National Imagination

2.4.1 Bengali

- **Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-1894)** – the first major Bengali novelist. *Anandamath* (1882) gave Indian nationalism its rallying hymn *Vande Mataram*. His other novels: *Durgeshnandini* (1865, the first Bengali novel), *Kapalkundala* (1866), *Rajsingha* (1882), *Devi Chaudhurani* (1884). The novel *Rajsingha* was dedicated to Maharaja Birchandra Manikya of Tripura.
- **Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941)** – *Gora*, *Ghare Baire*; the songs of the Swadeshi (1905); the national anthem *Jana Gana Mana* (1911); renounced his knighthood after Jallianwala Bagh; first Nobel literature laureate from Asia (1913). Three Manikya kings of Tripura were his close patrons (Chapters 8-9 of Book 3).
- **Dinabandhu Mitra** – *Nil Darpan* (1860); dramatised the Indigo planters' violence. The 2019 PYQ MCQ tested this play.
- **Michael Madhusudan Dutt** – *Meghnad Badh Kavya*; introducer of blank verse into Bengali poetry.
- **Sarat Chandra Chatterjee** – *Devdas*, *Pather Dabi*, *Srikanta*.
- **Kazi Nazrul Islam** (Bidrohi Kavi) – *Bidrohi*.

2.4.2 Hindi

- **Bharatendu Harishchandra (1850-1885)** – “father of modern Hindi”; his journal *Harishchandra Magazine*; the play *Andher Nagari*.
- **Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi** – editor of *Saraswati*; standardised Khari Boli Hindi.
- **Munshi Premchand** (1880-1936) – *Godan*, *Gaban*, *Nirmala*; also wrote in Urdu.
- **Maithili Sharan Gupt** – *Bharat Bharati* (1912); “Rashtra Kavi”.

2.4.3 Other Languages

- **Tamil:** Subramania Bharati's nationalist verse.
- **Marathi:** Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar; Tilak's prose.
- **Telugu:** Gurazada Apparao; Kandukuri Veeresalingam.
- **Urdu:** Sir Sayyid's prose; Mohammad Iqbal's poetry (*Tarana-i-Hind*, 1904: *Saare jahan se achha* – 2023 PYQ context).
- **Assamese:** Lakshminath Bezbaroa.
- **Punjabi:** Bhai Vir Singh.

EXAMINER'S INSIGHT | Press & Literature Together

The press carried the daily political grievance; literature carried the longer affective work of imagining a nation. Bipan Chandra's argument that "nationalism preceded the nation in India" rests heavily on the work both did in the half-century before 1885.

2.5 Growth of Organisation -- The Pre-Congress Bodies

Organisation	Year	Founders / Significance
Landholders' Society (Bengal)	1838	Dwarkanath Tagore; zamindari interests.
Bengal British India Society	1843	George Thompson; broader political concerns.
British Indian Association	1851	Radhakanta Deb & Debendranath Tagore; merger of above; petitioned Parliament on the Charter Act 1853.
Bombay Association	1852	Jagannath Shankarseth.
Madras Native Association	1852	C. V. Madhava Rao.
East India Association (London)	1866	Dadabhai Naoroji; public opinion in Britain.
Poona Sarvajanik Sabha	1870	M. G. Ranade, G. V. Joshi, S. H. Chiplunkar.
Indian Society (London)	1872	Anandamohan Bose.
Indian League (Calcutta)	1875	Sisir Kumar Ghosh.
Indian Association	1876	Surendranath Banerjee & Anandamohan Bose; broader middle-class membership; campaign against age limit for ICS; convened Indian National Conference, 1883.
Madras Mahajana Sabha	1884	Veera Raghavachariar, P. Anandacharlu.
Bombay Presidency Association	1885	Pheroza Shah Mehta, K. T. Telang, Badruddin Tyabji.

2.5.1 The Indian National Conference

Surendranath Banerjee's Indian Association convened the **Indian National Conference** in Calcutta in December 1883 – a year in which it also led the Ilbert Bill agitation. The Conference met again in December 1885, just days before the inaugural Congress in Bombay. The two streams merged in 1886, making the Congress the single all-India political body.

2.6 Foundation of the Indian National Congress -- December 1885

(For comprehensive treatment, see Chapter 3.)

The first session of the Indian National Congress was convened in Bombay on 28-31 DECEMBER 1885 at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, with 72 delegates, under the presidency of W. C. Bonnerjee. A. O. Hume was the principal organiser. The aims were promotion of national unity, training in democratic procedure, articulation of demands to the Government, and discussion of social-political questions.

2.7 Historiography of Indian Nationalism -- The 2023 PYQ Focus

Five major schools are recognised. The answer that names and contrasts them is the answer that secures full marks.

2.7.1 Imperialist / Colonialist School

Representatives: Valentine Chirol (*Indian Unrest*, 1910), John Strachey (*India: Its Administration and Progress*, 1888), V. A. Smith.

Argument: Indian nationalism was the work of a Western-educated micro-minority – “Babu nationalism” – which did not represent the “real” India. Lord Dufferin called the Congress “a microscopic minority”. The empire was a benign tutor; nationalism was disruption masquerading as patriotism.

2.7.2 Nationalist School

Representatives: R. C. Majumdar, Tara Chand, Bisheshwar Prasad, B. B. Misra, R. C. Pradhan.

Argument: Indian nationalism was the legitimate self-articulation of an ancient civilisation reasserting its place in the modern world. The Congress represented the genuine voice of the people, drawing its energy from indigenous social and intellectual reform.

The 2019 PYQ MCQ asked which of the listed historians was a Nationalist; R. C. Majumdar was the answer.

2.7.3 Marxist / Radical School

Representatives: R. P. Dutt (*India Today*, 1940), A. R. Desai (*Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, 1948), Sumit Sarkar (in part), Bipan Chandra (*India's Struggle for Independence*, 1988, co-authored with Mridula Mukherjee, Aditya Mukherjee

and others).

Argument: Indian nationalism was a product of the structural contradictions between Indian society and colonial capitalism. The leadership came from the bourgeois middle class; the mass base was peasant and worker. A. R. Desai identified five phases corresponding to the changing class-base of the movement. Bipan Chandra's reading – nationalism as a “struggle against colonialism” uniting diverse classes against a common adversary – has become the dominant textbook position.

2.7.4 Cambridge / Revisionist School

Representatives: Anil Seal (*The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, 1968), John Gallagher, Gordon Johnson, Christopher Bayly, D. A. Washbrook.

Argument: Indian nationalism was not a single ideological movement against empire but a fluid set of local factional competitions for power, resources and patronage; collaboration with the British was as common as opposition. Nationalism was an instrument used by local elites to bargain with the colonial state.

2.7.5 Subaltern School

Representatives: Ranajit Guha (*Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, 1983; founder editor, *Subaltern Studies* from 1982), Partha Chatterjee, Gyanendra Pandey, David Hardiman, Shahid Amin, Dipesh Chakrabarty.

Argument: The Congress-led “elite” nationalist movement was only one stream of anti-colonial mobilisation. A separate, autonomous *domain of subaltern politics* – peasants, workers, women, tribal communities – pursued their own struggles, often outside or even against Congress leadership. Guha's central thesis: “the politics of the people, far from being identical with that of the elite, was autonomous in its origin and content.”

EXAMINER'S INSIGHT | The Examiner's Favourite Structure for a History Answer

Opening: “Five major schools of interpretation exist on Indian nationalism.”

Body: Imperialist (Chirol) → Nationalist (Majumdar) → Marxist (R. P. Dutt, Desai, Bipan Chandra) → Cambridge (Anil Seal) → Subaltern (Ranajit Guha).

Critical synthesis: No single school accounts for all phases; the Marxist and Subaltern positions complement rather than contradict each other; the Cambridge school usefully corrects nationalist hagiography but underplays the moral content of mass mobilisation.

Conclusion: Indian nationalism is best read as a multi-class, multi-regional, ideologically plural movement whose unity was forged in struggle rather

than given by ideology.

2.8 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | The Nationalist Wave in Tripura

Princely Tripura watched the Indian nationalist movement from a peculiar vantage. As a tributary princely state outside British India proper, the Manikya court could not openly host Congress activity for most of the period; but the linkages were nevertheless real.

The Rabindranath connection. Rabindranath Tagore's deep ties with Maharaja Bir Chandra Manikya, Radha Kishore Manikya and Birendra Kishore Manikya brought the cultural language of Bengali nationalism directly into Tripura's court. His visits in 1899, 1900, 1905, 1919, 1923, 1926 and 1927 were not merely literary; they carried with them the political vocabulary of Swadeshi and the later national movements.

Bankim Chandra and the Manikya court. Bankim's novel *Rajsingha* (1882) was dedicated to Maharaja Birchandra Manikya. The Manikya court patronised Bengali letters consistently from the 19th century onwards.

Press and language. The Maharaja's press – particularly the founding of the *Tripura State Gazette* in 1881 under Birchandra – created the printed infrastructure on which a regional literate public could form.

Education and students. Tripura students studying at Calcutta, Dhaka and Comilla in the early 20th century imbibed the nationalist atmosphere. Bir Bikram Manikya's founding of the MBB College in Agartala (1947) – named after his grandfather Maharaja Bir Bikram – brought tertiary education home to the state.

Tribal and peasant resistance. The Jamatia Uprising (1863), the Reang movement (1942-43) and other regional uprisings were parallel, though autonomous, energies that the Subaltern school would recognise as continuous with the larger anti-elite struggles of the period. (See Book 2.)

2.9 Recent Relevance

- National Education Policy 2020 and the renewed scholarship on India's pre-Macaulay knowledge systems has reopened debates on what kind of 'modernisation' Western education brought.
- Bicentenary of Raja Ram Mohan Roy (250th birth anniversary observed in 2022); the Government of India's Bankim Chandra Chatterjee bicentenary (b. 1838).

- Continuing scholarly debate around Utsa Patnaik's quantitative re-estimation of colonial extraction (*Whatever Happened to Imperialism?*) has kept Naoroji and Dutt's framework alive in contemporary economics.
- Recent monographs by Sugata Bose, Ayesha Jalal, Ramachandra Guha and others have refined the Bipan Chandra synthesis.

2.10 Important Facts

- First Indian newspaper: *Bengal Gazette*, 1780 (Hicky).
- First Indian-owned reform paper: *Sambad Kaumudi*, 1821 (Ram Mohan Roy).
- First English-Indian metropolitan daily: *The Hindu*, 1878.
- Vernacular Press Act – Lytton, 1878; repealed by Ripon, 1882.
- Press Act – 1910.
- Indian Association – Calcutta, 1876 (S. N. Banerjee, Anandamohan Bose).
- Indian National Conference – December 1883 and December 1885.
- INC founded – 28-31 December 1885, Bombay, W. C. Bonnerjee, 72 delegates.
- First Muslim INC President: Badruddin Tyabji, 1887.
- First woman INC President: Annie Besant, 1917.
- First Indian woman INC President: Sarojini Naidu, 1925 (Kanpur).
- Five schools of historiography: Imperialist, Nationalist, Marxist, Cambridge, Subaltern.
- *Anandamath*: Bankim 1882, source of *Vande Mataram*.
- *Nil Darpan*: Dinabandhu Mitra, 1860 (2019 PYQ MCQ).

2.11 Mains Enrichment

VALUE ADDITION

Quotations:

- “The Indian National Congress was as much the result as the cause of Indian national feeling.” – Bipan Chandra.
- “The Congress is a microscopic minority.” – Lord Dufferin.
- “Nationalism is the inevitable product of objective historical processes.” – A. R. Desai.
- “The politics of the people, far from being identical with that of the elite, was autonomous in its origin and content.” – Ranajit Guha.

2.12 PYQ Model Answers

PYQ 2019 (5m) -- Press & Nationalism in the 19th Century

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

The press was the single most important instrument in the making of Indian nationalism in the nineteenth century. Within two generations of Ram Mohan Roy's *Sambad Kaumudi* (1821), every major presidency had a sustained Indian-edited newspaper – *Hindu Patriot* (1853), *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (1868), *The Hindu* (1878), *Kesari* (1881), *Mahratta* (1881), *Bande Mataram* (1906).

The press performed four functions. *First*, it propagated economic critique – Naoroji's drain theory reached its public through these columns. *Second*, it created a pan-Indian conversation: an article in *The Hindu* of Madras could be read by professionals in Calcutta within days. *Third*, it generated nationalist symbols – *Vande Mataram* moved from Bankim Chandra's novel through the journal *Bande Mataram* into the political arena. *Fourth*, it organised dissent against repressive measures – the Ilbert Bill, the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, the partition of Bengal.

The Vernacular Press Act and the Press Act of 1910 are themselves proof of the press's effectiveness; the British would not legislate against a powerless instrument.

PYQ 2023 (10m) -- Schools of Historiography on Indian Nationalism

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

Modern scholarship recognises five major schools on Indian nationalism, each with a distinctive methodology and political emphasis.

Imperialist School (Valentine Chirol, John Strachey, V. A. Smith) read nationalism as the agitation of a Western-educated micro-minority – “microscopic”, in Dufferin's phrase – without authentic mass base. Empire was a benign tutor; nationalism was disturbance.

Nationalist School (R. C. Majumdar, Tara Chand, B. B. Misra) presented nationalism as the legitimate self-articulation of an ancient civilisation rediscovering itself through reform, Indology and political organisation.

Marxist School (R. P. Dutt, A. R. Desai, Bipan Chandra) located the movement in the contradictions between colonial capitalism and Indian society. Desai's five-phase periodisation traces a changing class-base; Bipan Chandra's framework of “national movement as struggle against colonialism” has become a textbook reference.

Cambridge / Revisionist School (Anil Seal, John Gallagher, Christopher Bayly) read nationalism as a fluid set of factional bargains in which collaboration was as common as opposition. The corrective is useful; the cynicism is excessive.

Subaltern School (Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, Shahid Amin, Dipesh Chakrabarty) recovered the autonomous politics of peasants, workers, tribal communities. “The politics of the people, far from being identical with that of the elite, was autonomous,” Guha argued.

Critical assessment. Each school illuminates one face: the imperialist registers elite leadership but denies legitimacy; the nationalist supplies legitimacy but glosses over caste, class and gender; the Marxist captures structure but undervalues ideology; the Cambridge school records bargaining but cannot account for sacrifice; the subaltern recovers the people but at the cost of programmatic coherence. The most defensible synthesis treats Indian nationalism as multi-class, multi-regional and ideologically plural, forged in struggle rather than given by ideology.

Conclusion. The historiography itself is part of the nation’s continuing self-interpretation.

2.13 Practice Questions

1. Discuss the role of socio-religious reform movements in the rise of Indian nationalism. (10)
2. Critically examine the “safety-valve” theory of the foundation of the Indian National Congress. (5)
3. Analyse the contribution of Dadabhai Naoroji to the economic critique of British rule. (10)
4. How did 19th-century Indian literature contribute to the emergence of national consciousness? (5)
5. Trace the emergence of pre-Congress political associations. (5)
6. Examine the impact of famines on the growth of Indian nationalism. (5)
7. How does the Subaltern School differ from the Nationalist School in its reading of the freedom struggle? (10)
8. Discuss the role of *Anandamath* and *Vande Mataram* in Indian nationalism. (5)

2.14 Quick Revision Sheet

CHAPTER 2 – GROWTH OF INDIAN NATIONALISM | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Five causes: political-administrative (unification, communications, Lytton, Ilbert Bill) | economic (drain, famines, deindustrialisation) | social-religious (Brahmo, Prarthana, Arya, Aligarh, Theosophical) | educational (English education, universities) | ideological (rediscovery of past).

Press timeline: *Bengal Gazette* 1780 → *Sambad Kaumudi* 1821 → *Hindu Patriot* 1853 → *Amrita Bazar Patrika* 1868 → *The Hindu* 1878 → Vernacular Press Act 1878 → *Kesari-Mahratta* 1881 → Press Act 1910.

Pre-Congress orgs: Landholders' 1838 | British Indian Assoc. 1851 | Bombay 1852 | Madras 1852 | East India Assoc. 1866 | Poona Sarvajanik 1870 | Indian Association 1876 | Indian National Conference 1883 | Madras Mahajana Sabha 1884 | Bombay Pres. Assoc. 1885.

INC: 28-31 Dec 1885, Bombay, W.C. Bonnerjee, 72 delegates.

Five schools of historiography: Imperialist (Chitrol) | Nationalist (Majumdar, Tara Chand) | Marxist (R. P. Dutt, A. R. Desai, Bipan Chandra) | Cambridge (Anil Seal, Bayly) | Subaltern (Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, Shahid Amin).

Tripura tag: Tagore-Manikya nexus; Bankim's *Rajsingha* dedicated to Birchandra; *Tripura State Gazette* 1881; MBB College 1947; Bengali print public via Manikya patronage.

Lines to quote: "As much the result as the cause of Indian national feeling" (Bipan Chandra); "Microscopic minority" (Dufferin); "Politics of the people, autonomous" (Ranajit Guha).

2.15 Chapter Summary

The growth of Indian nationalism in the nineteenth century was the convergence of political-administrative unification, economic critique, social-religious reform, educational transformation, and the rediscovery of India's past. The press (from Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* of 1780 through the *Sambad Kaumudi*, *Hindu Patriot*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Hindu*, *Kesari*, *Mahratta*, *Bande Mataram*) and the literature of the Bengali, Hindi and Tamil renaissance (Bankim, Tagore, Bharatendu, Bharati) gave nationalism its public voice. Pre-Congress associations (Landholders', British Indian Association, East India Association, Indian Association, Madras Mahajana Sabha, Bombay Presidency Association) built the political infrastructure. Five schools of historiography – imperialist, nationalist, Marxist, Cambridge, subaltern – contest the meaning of the movement.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: FORMATION, MODERATES & EXTREMISTS

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 3 -- Indian National Congress: Formation, Moderates and Extremists.

Why This Chapter Matters

The Surat Split of 1907 (MCQ, 2021), the role of Moderates (5m, 2019), the factors leading to the Mod-Ext split (10m, 2021) – the chapter is a perennial favourite of the TCS / TPS examiner. It also forms the constitutional backbone for everything that follows – partition of Bengal, Swadeshi, Home Rule, Gandhi.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021

- (2019, 5m) What role did the Moderates play in the formative stage of the Indian National Congress?
- (2021, 10m) Discuss the factors leading to the split between the Moderates and Extremists in the Indian National Congress.

- (2019, MCQ) Where was the first conference of the Indian National Congress held on 28 December 1885?
- (2021, MCQ) The split within the INC between Moderates and Extremists took place in 1907 at which session?

3.1 Foundation of the Indian National Congress -- 1885

The first session of the Indian National Congress was convened in Bombay at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College from 28 TO 31 DECEMBER 1885. Seventy-two delegates attended, drawn from every province of British India. The presiding officer was the Calcutta barrister **Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee** (W.C. Bonnerjee); the principal organiser was the retired Indian Civil Service officer **Allan Octavian Hume** (A. O. Hume).

3.1.1 The Founding Personalities

- **A. O. Hume** – a retired ICS officer with a long association with Indian reformers and an early ornithologist of distinction. After retirement, he committed himself to building an all-India political body.
- **W. C. Bonnerjee** – the first President; a leading barrister of Calcutta.
- **Dadabhai Naoroji** – the “Grand Old Man of India”; thrice President of the INC (1886 Calcutta, 1893 Lahore, 1906 Calcutta).
- **Surendranath Banerjee** – founder of the Indian Association (1876) and the Indian National Conference (1883); merged the latter into the INC in 1886.
- **Badrudin Tyabji** – first Muslim President of INC (1887, Madras).
- **Pherozeshah Mehta, Dinshaw Wacha, K. T. Telang, M. G. Ranade, Anandamohan Bose, S. N. Banerjee, R. C. Dutt, G. K. Gokhale** – founding generation.

3.1.2 The Safety-Valve Question

The view that Hume founded the Congress at Lord Dufferin’s suggestion – to provide a “safety valve” for rising Indian discontent – was first publicly articulated by Lala Lajpat Rai (*Young India*, 1916). Modern scholarship (Bipan Chandra, Mehrotra, Anil Seal in part) rejects the thesis as an oversimplification:

1. Indian political organisation predated Hume – the British Indian Association (1851), Bombay Association (1852), East India Association (1866), Indian Association (1876), Madras Mahajana Sabha (1884), Bombay Presidency Association (1885) had created the political ground.

2. Surendranath Banerjee's Indian National Conference (December 1883 & December 1885) was an independent Indian initiative that merged into the INC in 1886.
3. The Congress's resolutions from its very first session (revision of land assessment, expansion of the Legislative Council, reform of the ICS examination) were drawn straight from the demands the British Indian Association and the Indian Association had been making for decades.
4. Hume, far from being Dufferin's agent, was viewed by the Viceroy with suspicion; Dufferin himself dismissed the Congress as "a microscopic minority".

In Bipan Chandra's formulation, "the Congress was as much the result as the cause of Indian national feeling."

3.1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Congress (1885)

- Consolidation of all-India political opinion irrespective of region, religion or caste.
- A platform for the discussion of important social and political questions.
- The training of Indians in democratic politics.
- The articulation of demands to the Government.
- The development of national unity.

3.1.4 The Three Phases of the Congress (1885--1947)

The history of the Congress is typically periodised into three phases:

Phase	Years	Methods & Goals
Moderate Phase	1885–1905	Constitutional methods; prayer, petition, protest; reform within the British framework.
Extremist Phase	1905–1919	Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education, Passive Resistance; self-reliance; Swaraj.
Gandhian Phase	1919–1947	Mass mobilisation; non-violent satyagraha; Purna Swaraj.

3.2 The Moderate Phase (1885--1905)

3.2.1 Who Were the Moderates?

The Moderates were the first generation of Congress leaders: lawyers, journalists, professors, retired officials drawn largely from the urban, English-educated upper-caste middle class of the three presidencies. They had been raised on the liberal political tradition of Bentham, Mill, Burke, Gladstone and the Manchester economists.

Principal Moderates:

- Dadabhai Naoroji
- Surendranath Banerjee
- Pherozeshah Mehta
- Gopal Krishna Gokhale
- Mahadev Govind Ranade
- Romesh Chunder Dutt
- Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee
- Anandamohan Bose
- Dinshaw Wacha
- Badruddin Tyabji

3.2.2 The Moderates' Worldview

Three propositions defined Moderate politics:

1. **Faith in British justice.** They believed British rule was, on the whole, providential – a transitional tutelage that would eventually produce self-government within the empire. Their slogan was *“a fair share in the government of our country.”*
2. **Constitutional methods.** They restricted themselves to petitions, memoranda, resolutions, press campaigns, deputations to London, and the slow public education of British opinion.
3. **Reform of the Empire, not its overthrow.** The goal was incremental constitutional advance towards Dominion-style self-government, not independence.

3.2.3 Methods of the Moderates

- Annual sessions of the Congress passing carefully drafted resolutions.
- Petitions to the Viceroy, Secretary of State, Parliament.
- Sustained press advocacy through Indian newspapers and London journals.
- Establishment of the British Committee of the INC in London (1888) and the journal *India* (1890) to lobby British opinion.
- Educational and economic critique – Naoroji’s drain theory; Dutt’s economic

history; Gokhale's budget speeches in the Imperial Legislative Council.

3.2.4 Contributions of the Moderates

The Moderates have been criticised for timidity but they laid the foundations on which everything that followed was built.

- **Created an all-India political platform.** For the first time a Punjabi could read in the morning a resolution drafted by a Madrasite the previous evening.
- **Built a powerful economic critique** of empire. Naoroji's drain of wealth, R. C. Dutt's economic history, Mahadev Govind Ranade's industrial analysis – a body of work that Gandhi and Nehru would inherit and use without amendment.
- **Trained the country in democratic procedure** – formal sessions, resolutions, voting, committee work, presidential addresses.
- **Secured concrete reforms** – the Indian Councils Act 1892 (limited though it was) expanded the Imperial Legislative Council; the Public Service Commission (Aitchison Commission, 1886) was set up to examine recruitment to higher services; the Punjab Land Alienation Act, 1900 was secured.
- **Educated British public opinion** through the British Committee in London.

3.2.5 Limitations of the Moderates

- Narrow social base – the urban, English-educated middle class; no peasants, workers, women, tribal communities.
- Mendicant politics – “three Ps: petition, prayer, protest” – was scorned by Tilak as “political mendicancy”.
- Failure to involve the masses – the Moderate Congress was, by Lord Dufferin's contempt, “a microscopic minority”.
- Excessive faith in British justice – repeatedly punctured by Lytton's repression, Curzon's reactionary measures, and the Bengal partition.
- Slow returns – the Indian Councils Act 1892 was a thin reward for seven years of resolutions.

EXAMINER'S INSIGHT | Quoting Gokhale

“The Moderates did not bring about the freedom of India, but they laid the foundations on which it was built. The aspirations they articulated, the methods they perfected, and the moral capital they accumulated were the inheritance of every nationalist generation that followed.” – a paraphrase often used to encapsulate the Moderate contribution.

3.3 The Extremist Phase (1905--1919)

3.3.1 Background -- Why Extremism Arose

By the turn of the century the Moderate strategy was visibly tiring. Several developments converged to produce a more militant nationalism:

1. **Failure of Moderate methods.** Two decades of petitions had produced only modest reforms.
2. **Lord Curzon's policies (1899–1905)** – the Universities Act 1904 (which tightened government control over higher education), the Calcutta Corporation Act 1899 (which reduced Indian elected members), the Official Secrets Act 1904, and above all the **Partition of Bengal (16 October 1905)**.
3. **International influences.** Japan's victory over Russia (1904–05) shattered the myth of European invincibility. Irish nationalism, Italian Risorgimento, the Boer War and revolutionary movements in China and Persia inspired Indian radicals.
4. **Famines and plague** of 1896–1900 in western India and the punitive plague measures (the assassination of Rand and Ayerst at Poona in 1897 by the Chapekar brothers).
5. **Indian renaissance and revivalism** – Vivekananda, Aurobindo, Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Shivaji and Ganapati festivals (Maharashtra), Bipin Chandra Pal's writings (Bengal).

3.3.2 Who Were the Extremists?

The Extremists were the second generation of Congressmen, born and trained in the heat of the Moderate decade and impatient with its limits.

The Trio – “Lal-Bal-Pal”:

- **Lala Lajpat Rai** – the Lion of Punjab; deported to Mandalay in 1907 along with Ajit Singh.
- **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** – editor of *Kesari* and *Mahratta*; “Lokmanya”; “Swaraj is my birthright”; jailed in 1908 and sent to Mandalay for six years.
- **Bipin Chandra Pal** – “the Father of Revolutionary Thought”; editor of *New India*.

And:

- **Aurobindo Ghosh** – editor of *Bande Mataram*; later turned to spirituality.
- **Ashwini Kumar Dutt, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay** (Bengal).
- **Madan Mohan Malaviya** (a moderate-extremist bridge).

3.3.3 Methods of the Extremists

- **Swadeshi** – promotion of indigenous goods and industries.
- **Boycott** of British goods, government services, schools, courts.
- **National Education** – founding of the National Council of Education, Bengal (1906) and the National College, Calcutta (Aurobindo as Principal).
- **Passive Resistance** – a creative refusal to cooperate with administrative measures, anticipating Gandhi's satyagraha.
- **Cultural revivalism** – Tilak's Ganapati (1893) and Shivaji (1895) festivals.
- **Press militancy** – *Kesari*, *Mahratta*, *Bande Mataram*, *Yugantar*, *Sandhya*.

3.3.4 Goals of the Extremists

Swaraj – self-government – defined variously as:

- Tilak: "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it."
- Aurobindo: complete national independence.
- Pal: a federation of Indian peoples sovereign within the empire and outside it.

The Extremists rejected the Moderate language of "a fair share within the empire"; they insisted that Indians were not asking for the empire's permission to be free.

3.4 The Partition of Bengal -- Catalyst of Extremism

On 16 OCTOBER 1905 Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal into two provinces:

- Bengal proper (Hindu-majority western Bengal + Bihar + Orissa).
- Eastern Bengal and Assam (Muslim-majority eastern Bengal).

The official justification was administrative – Bengal was unwieldy. But the underlying purpose, as Curzon himself acknowledged in correspondence, was to "*dethrone Calcutta from its position as the centre from which the Congress party is manipulated throughout the whole of Bengal*" and to weaken Bengali nationalism by splitting the Hindu-Muslim middle class.

3.4.1 The Anti-Partition Movement (1905--11)

- **Boycott resolution** – 7 August 1905, Calcutta Town Hall.
- **Rakhi Bandhan** – Tagore's symbolism of fraternal unity, 16 October 1905.
- **Swadeshi institutions** – National Council of Education (1906); indigenous textile, soap, glass and chemical industries (e.g. Bengal Chemicals founded by P.C.

Ray, 1893; revived during Swadeshi).

- **Boycott of foreign cloth** – the bonfires of Manchester goods.
- **Tagore's songs** – including *Amar Sonar Bangla* (1905), later the national anthem of Bangladesh.
- **Reunification of Bengal** – announced at the Delhi Durbar, 12 December 1911.

3.5 The Surat Split -- 1907

The festering tension between the two camps came to a head at the **Surat session** (December 1907).

3.5.1 Build-up

- The 1906 Calcutta session, with Dadabhai Naoroji presiding, had reached an awkward compromise: Naoroji declared the goal of the Congress to be **Swaraj**, but the four resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and Swaraj were diluted in language and applicability.
- The 1907 session was to be held in Nagpur. The Moderates moved it to Surat (Pherozeshah Mehta's home turf) at the last moment.
- The Moderates put forward **Rash Behari Ghosh** as President; the Extremists wanted Tilak or Lala Lajpat Rai.

3.5.2 The Split

On 27 DECEMBER 1907, when Rash Behari Ghosh rose to deliver the presidential address, Tilak's supporters protested. A chair was hurled at the dais. The session was adjourned. Soon afterwards the Convention Committee, controlled by the Moderates, expelled the Extremists from the Congress.

3.5.3 Aftermath (1908--1916)

- The Congress remained in Moderate hands; the 1908 Madras and 1909 Lahore sessions reaffirmed Moderate orthodoxy.
- Tilak was arrested in 1908 on charges of sedition and transported to Mandalay for six years. (He returned in 1914.)
- Aurobindo Ghosh was tried in the Alipore Bomb Case (1908–09) and acquitted; he retired from politics to Pondicherry in 1910.
- The British conceded the **Indian Councils Act 1909** (Morley–Minto Reforms), expanding legislative councils and – fatefully – introducing separate Muslim electorates.
- The Annulment of Partition of Bengal (1911).

- Re-unification of the Congress at the **Lucknow Session, December 1916** under the presidency of Ambika Charan Mazumdar.

3.6 Comparative Analysis -- Moderates vs Extremists

Parameter	Moderates	Extremists
Goal	Self-government within empire	Swaraj – self-rule, independence
Method	Petition, prayer, protest	Swadeshi, Boycott, Passive Resistance, National Education
Social Base	Urban professional class	Wider middle class + lower middle class + students
Faith in British justice	Yes	No
Symbolic vocabulary	Liberal constitutionalism (Burke, Mill)	Indian cultural revivalism (Shivaji, Ganapati, Vande Mataram)
Press	<i>The Hindu, Indian Mirror, Sudharak</i>	<i>Kesari, Mahratta, Bande Mataram, Yugantar</i>
Famous slogans	"A fair share in the government"	"Swaraj is my birthright" (Tilak); "No control, no taxation" (Aurobindo)

3.7 Factors Leading to the Split (2021 PYQ Focus)

1. **Generational divergence** – the founders of 1885 had been raised in the high noon of British liberalism; the second generation grew up under Curzon's repression and the Bengal partition.
2. **Failure of Moderate methods** – two decades of petitions had produced limited dividends.
3. **Curzon's policies** – Universities Act 1904, Calcutta Corporation Act 1899, Official Secrets Act 1904, partition of Bengal 1905.
4. **Different ideological inspirations** – Moderates' liberal constitutionalism vs Extremists' cultural revivalism and emerging revolutionary thought.

5. **The Calcutta compromise of 1906** – Naoroji's Swaraj declaration left both sides feeling betrayed.
6. **Personality conflicts** – Tilak vs Pherozeshah Mehta; Aurobindo vs Gokhale.
7. **Question of presidency** – the 1907 manoeuvre to displace Nagpur as the venue and to install Rash Behari Ghosh as President.
8. **International events** – Japan's defeat of Russia; revolutionary movements abroad.
9. **Mass agitation against partition** – the Swadeshi movement had given the Extremists popular legitimacy that the Moderates could not match.

3.8 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Tripura in the Age of the Early Congress

The Manikya state during 1885–1916 was ruled by four kings – Bir Chandra (1862–96), Radha Kishore (1896–1909), Birendra Kishore (1909–23), and a brief regency. Princely Tripura was outside British India proper and the Congress did not formally organise in the state. But the cultural and intellectual currents of the early national movement reached Tripura through three channels:

1. **The Tagore bridge.** Rabindranath Tagore's first visit to Agartala was in 1899 at the invitation of Maharaja Radha Kishore Manikya. The poet's growing political voice (he would later return his knighthood in 1919 after Jallianwala Bagh) entered the Manikya court directly through these visits.
2. **Students in Calcutta and Comilla.** Tripura students reading at Presidency, Scottish Church, City College and Dhaka College were exposed to Swadeshi politics. Several would later play roles in the Janashiksha and regional movements of the 1930s.
3. **The Tripura State Gazette (1881)** and the Manikya court's encouragement of Bengali letters integrated Tripura into the wider Bengali print public from which the Extremist press drew much of its readership.

3.9 Mains Enrichment Points

VALUE ADDITION**Quotations:**

- “Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it.” – B. G. Tilak.
- “Political mendicancy.” – Tilak, on Moderate methods.
- “The Congress is a microscopic minority.” – Lord Dufferin.
- “A fair share in the government of our own country.” – Moderate slogan.
- “Bande Mataram is the watchword of Swaraj.” – Aurobindo Ghosh.

3.10 Important Facts

- **First INC session:** Bombay, 28–31 December 1885, W.C. Bonnerjee, 72 delegates.
- **First Muslim President:** Badruddin Tyabji, 1887, Madras.
- **First woman President:** Annie Besant, 1917, Calcutta.
- **First Indian woman President:** Sarojini Naidu, 1925, Kanpur (TCS 2023 MCQ).
- **British Committee, INC:** London, 1888; journal *India*, 1890.
- **Partition of Bengal:** 16 October 1905; reunified 12 December 1911.
- **Surat Split:** 27 December 1907.
- **Tilak’s transportation:** 1908–14 (Mandalay).
- **Indian Councils Act 1909:** Morley–Minto Reforms; separate electorates for Muslims.
- **Lucknow Session 1916:** reunification of Moderates and Extremists; Congress–League Pact (the Lucknow Pact).

3.11 Timeline -- The Early Congress, 1885--1916

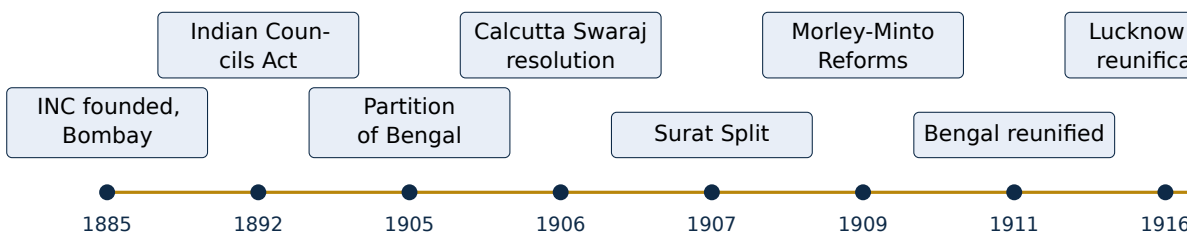


Fig. 3.1 – The early Congress and its two camps.

3.12 PYQs with Model Answers

PYQ 2019 (5 marks) -- Role of Moderates in the Formative Stage of INC

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

The Moderates – Dadabhai Naoroji, S.N. Banerjee, Gokhale, Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta, R.C. Dutt – guided the Congress through its first two decades and laid the political infrastructure on which everything later rested. *Institutional building:* They created an all-India political platform, trained an Indian leadership in parliamentary procedure, and established the British Committee in London (1888).

Economic critique: Naoroji's drain theory and R.C. Dutt's economic history furnished the analytical vocabulary of anti-colonialism that every later generation used.

Constitutional advance: They secured the Indian Councils Act 1892, the Aitchison Commission, and Punjab Land Alienation Act 1900.

Limitations: Narrow social base, mendicant style and excessive faith in British justice meant their methods could not survive Curzon's repression.

The Moderates did not bring freedom, but they laid the foundations on which freedom was built.

PYQ 2021 (10 marks) -- Factors leading to the Moderate-Extremist Split

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

The split at Surat (December 1907) was the product of a long accumulation of ideological, generational and circumstantial divergences inside the INC.

Generational divergence. The Moderates – Bonnerjee, Naoroji, Mehta, Gokhale – had been raised in the high noon of British liberalism. The Extremists – Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, B.C. Pal, Aurobindo – grew up under Curzon's repression.

Failure of Moderate methods. Twenty years of petitions had yielded only the Indian Councils Act 1892 and minor administrative reforms.

Curzon's policies. Universities Act (1904), Calcutta Corporation Act (1899), Official Secrets Act (1904) and above all the Partition of Bengal (16 October 1905) destroyed Moderate faith in British justice.

Ideological divergence. Moderates – liberal constitutionalism, Anglo-Indian political vocabulary. Extremists – cultural revivalism (Shivaji and Ganapati festivals), Indian symbolism (*Vande Mataram*, Bharat Mata), revolutionary

thought.

The Calcutta compromise (1906). Naoroji's declaration of Swaraj as the goal left Moderates feeling pushed and Extremists feeling betrayed by the diluted resolutions.

Surat trigger (1907). The transfer of the session from Nagpur to Surat, the imposition of Rash Behari Ghosh as President over Tilak's claim, and the procedural manoeuvres of Pherozeshah Mehta triggered the open rupture.

International stimulus. Japan's defeat of Russia (1904–05) and revolutionary movements abroad gave the Extremists confidence that Asians could overthrow European empires.

Aftermath. The Moderates retained the Congress till 1916; the Extremists turned to revolutionary politics; the British conceded the Morley–Minto Reforms (1909) with separate electorates – a fateful divide-and-rule device.

Conclusion. The split, painful as it was, was the moment Indian nationalism graduated from petition to politics. Its reunification at Lucknow (1916) under the Tilak-Annie Besant influence prepared the ground for the Gandhian era.

3.13 Sample & Practice Questions

1. Critically examine the safety-valve theory of the founding of the INC. (10)
2. Discuss the contribution of Gopal Krishna Gokhale to Indian politics. (5)
3. Analyse the role of the Partition of Bengal in the rise of the Extremist movement. (10)
4. Evaluate the Lucknow Pact (1916). (5)
5. "The Moderates failed; but their failure was instructive." Discuss. (10)
6. Examine the contribution of Tilak to the Indian national movement. (10)

3.14 Examiner's Expectations & Common Mistakes

EXAMINER'S INSIGHT | What earns marks

- Naming *specific* leaders, dates and acts.
- Quoting Tilak's birthright slogan, Naoroji's drain theory, Dufferin's microscopic-minority dismissal.
- Distinguishing Surat (1907) from Lucknow (1916).

- Linking Curzon's measures to Extremist rise.
- Bringing in Tripura when the question permits (Tagore-Manikya, Tripura State Gazette).

Common mistakes: confusing the 1906 Swaraj resolution with the 1929 Lahore session resolution; calling the Surat split a "permanent" one (it wasn't – 1916 reunified); attributing the Partition of Bengal to Dalhousie instead of Curzon.

3.15 Revision Notes

REVISION CAPSULE | Quick Recap

- INC founded 28-31 Dec 1885, Bombay, W. C. Bonnerjee, 72 delegates.
- Hume convener; Dufferin hostile; safety-valve thesis overstated.
- Three phases: Moderate (1885-1905), Extremist (1905-19), Gandhian (1919-47).
- Moderate leaders: Naoroji, Banerjee, Gokhale, Ranade, Mehta, Dutt.
- Extremist trio: Lala-Bal-Pal; plus Aurobindo, Ashwini Kumar Dutt.
- Partition of Bengal 16 Oct 1905; reunified 12 Dec 1911.
- Surat Split 27 Dec 1907; Tilak's Mandalay 1908-14.
- Morley-Minto 1909 (separate electorates); Lucknow Pact 1916.
- First Muslim Pres.: Tyabji 1887. First Woman: Besant 1917. First Indian Woman: Sarojini Naidu 1925.

3.16 Quick Revision Sheet

QUICK REVISION SHEET

CHAPTER 3 – INC, MODERATES & EXTREMISTS | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Founding: INC, 28-31 Dec 1885, Bombay, W.C. Bonnerjee, 72 delegates. A.O. Hume convener.

Moderates (1885-1905): Naoroji, Banerjee, Gokhale, Ranade, Mehta, Dutt. Methods: petition, prayer, protest. Faith in British justice. Achievements: drain theory, Councils Act 1892, training Indians in politics. Limits: narrow base, mendicant style.

Extremists (1905-19): Lal-Bal-Pal, Aurobindo. Methods: Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education, Passive Resistance. Vocabulary: cultural revival-

ism, Shivaji-Ganapati, Vande Mataram.

Trigger: Partition of Bengal 16 Oct 1905 (Curzon); Swadeshi 1905-08; Calcutta resolution 1906 (Naoroji Swaraj).

Surat Split: 27 Dec 1907; chair hurled; Rash Behari Ghosh imposed; Extremists expelled.

Reunification: Lucknow Session 1916, Ambika Charan Mazumdar Pres.; Lucknow Pact same year with Muslim League.

Key quotes: “Swaraj is my birthright” (Tilak); “Microscopic minority” (Dufferin); “Bande Mataram is the watchword of Swaraj” (Aurobindo).

Tripura tag: Tagore’s first Agartala visit 1899; Manikya court linked to Calcutta Bengali public; Tripura State Gazette 1881.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES: BENGAL, PUNJAB, MAHARASHTRA

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 4 -- Revolutionary Activities: Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra.

Why This Chapter Matters

The revolutionary tradition is the most under-prepared topic in Section A despite its consistent MCQ presence (Ulgulan/Birsa Munda in 2021 and 2023; Andaman renaming under Bose; Bande Mataram editors; Yugantar). A well-prepared aspirant can offer it as a 5-mark or 10-mark answer when other questions feel uncertain.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021, 2023

- (2021, MCQ) Ulgulan was started by – Birsa Munda.
- (2023, MCQ) Ulgulan – Birsa Munda; Andaman & Nicobar renaming proposed by Subhas Chandra Bose.
- (2019, MCQ) Periodicals – Yugantar (Bhupendra Nath Dutta), Sandhya (Barindra Ghosh).
- **Latent ask:** A 10-mark question on revolutionary nationalism in Bengal-

Punjab-Maharashtra has not appeared since 2019. Overdue.

4.1 Conceptual Introduction

The revolutionary tradition was the third stream of Indian nationalism – a stream parallel to the Moderates and the Extremists – that rejected both petition and passive resistance in favour of armed action and conspiratorial organisation. It flourished in three principal regions: **Bengal** (the densest network), **Maharashtra** (the earliest), and **Punjab** (closely linked to Bengal). It also generated overseas branches in San Francisco, Berlin, Tokyo and London.

The revolutionaries shared with the Extremists a contempt for the Moderates' constitutionalism, but went beyond Extremism in rejecting public political work in favour of secret societies, weapons-training, bomb-making, dacoities for funds, and political assassination. They produced their own martyrs – Khudiram Bose, Prafulla Chaki, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Surya Sen – whose memory has remained politically potent.

4.2 Three Phases of Revolutionary Activity

Phase	Years	Character
First Phase	1897–1917	Chapekar brothers, Anushilan, Yugantar, Madame Cama, India House.
Second Phase	1919–1934	Hindustan Republican Association / HSRA, Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad, Surya Sen's Chittagong Armoury Raid.
Third Phase	1939–1945	INA, Quit India underground network, Tripura-related war effort.

4.3 Maharashtra -- The Earliest Tradition

4.3.1 The Chapekar Brothers (1897)

The first political assassination of the era took place in Poona on **22 JUNE 1897**, when **Damodar Hari Chapekar** and his brother **Balkrishna Chapekar** shot Walter Charles Rand, the head of the Plague Commission, and his military escort Lieutenant Ayerst. The Chapekars were aggrieved by the punitive plague measures of 1896–97 – forcible house entries, segregation, public shaming. The Chapekars were tried and

executed (1898). Tilak was charged with sedition for editorials in *Kesari* that were said to have incited the assassination; he was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment.

4.3.2 Tilak's Festivals as Political Mobilisation

While not himself a participant in armed action, Tilak's Ganapati Festival (revived 1893) and Shivaji Festival (1895) created the cultural matrix in which a generation of Marathi revolutionaries grew up. V.D. Savarkar – the most famous Marathi revolutionary – was Tilak's avowed disciple.

4.3.3 Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883--1966)

- Founded **Abhinav Bharat** ('Young India') in Nasik (1904), a revolutionary secret society.
- Studied in London at the invitation of Shyamji Krishnavarma; lived at **India House**, Highgate (a hostel-cum-revolutionary nerve centre).
- Wrote *The Indian War of Independence of 1857* (1909) – the book that gave the Revolt its nationalist re-reading.
- Implicated in the Nasik Conspiracy Case (1909), the assassination of Jackson, district magistrate of Nasik, by Anant Kanhere.
- Captured at Marseilles after a famous escape attempt (1910); transported to the Andaman Cellular Jail.
- Later became the founding ideologue of Hindu Mahasabha and *Hindutva* (1923).

4.4 Bengal -- The Densest Network

4.4.1 The Yugantar -- Anushilan Tradition

Bengal produced the two most influential revolutionary societies, both founded around the time of the partition agitation:

- **Anushilan Samiti** (1902) – founded in Calcutta as a physical-culture society by Pramatha Mitra; rapidly politicised by Aurobindo, Barindra Ghosh and Jatin-dranath Banerjee. Branches at Dacca (P. Mitra), Mymensingh, Faridpur, Comilla – in fact across what would become East Bengal and northeast India.
- **Yugantar** (1906) – a Calcutta-based group around the journal *Yugantar*, edited by Bhupendra Nath Dutta (Vivekananda's younger brother) and Barindra Ghosh. The group was closely linked to Aurobindo's circle. From it emerged the bomb-makers of the 1908–09 phase.

4.4.2 The Alipore Bomb Case (1908)

Khudiram Bose and **Prafulla Chaki** attempted to assassinate **Douglas Kingsford**, an unpopular British magistrate, at Muzaffarpur on **30 APRIL 1908**. Their bomb killed two British women (Mrs. and Miss Kennedy) by mistake. Prafulla Chaki shot himself rather than be taken alive; Khudiram, aged eighteen, was hanged on 11 August 1908. The arrests led to the **Manicktolla bomb factory** raid in Calcutta and the indictment of thirty-three accused – the Alipore Bomb Case (1908–09) – including Aurobindo Ghosh (acquitted) and Barindra Ghosh (transported for life). Defence counsel for Aurobindo was **Chittaranjan Das**, who built his political career on this defence.

4.4.3 Rashbehari Bose, Sachindranath Sanyal and the Delhi Conspiracy (1912)

Rashbehari Bose threw a bomb at Viceroy Lord Hardinge during the imperial procession at Chandni Chowk, Delhi, on **23 DECEMBER 1912**. The Viceroy was injured but survived. Rashbehari escaped, lived underground for several years, and eventually fled to Japan, where he laid the groundwork for what would become the Indian National Army.

4.4.4 The Ghadar Conspiracy and Bengal

The First World War created the opportunity for an India-wide insurrection – the **Ghadar Conspiracy** of 1915 was coordinated between Punjabi revolutionaries in San Francisco, Bengali revolutionaries in Calcutta and Indian residents of South-east Asia. Plans for a mass uprising on **21 FEBRUARY 1915** were betrayed; the conspiracy collapsed; Rashbehari escaped to Japan.

4.4.5 The Chittagong Armoury Raid (1930)

Surya Sen ('Master-da'), a teacher at the Nandankanan National School in Chittagong, led a band of roughly sixty-five revolutionaries – including **Pritilata Waddedar** (the first woman martyr of the revolutionary tradition) and **Kalpana Datta** – in the storming of the Chittagong armoury and police lines on **18 APRIL 1930**. The British were briefly displaced from Chittagong. The Battle of Jalalabad Hill (22 April 1930) saw eighty British troops killed; Surya Sen and his comrades retreated to the hills and conducted a guerrilla campaign for three years before being captured. **Pritilata Waddedar** led the Pahartali European Club raid on 23 September 1932 and consumed cyanide to avoid capture. Surya Sen was hanged on 12 January 1934.

4.5 Punjab -- Closely Linked to Bengal

4.5.1 Lala Hardayal and the Ghadar Movement (1913)

The Ghadar Party was founded on **15 JULY 1913** in Astoria, Oregon, by **Sohan Singh Bhakna** (president), **Lala Hardayal** (secretary) and a group of Punjabi labourers and students on the U.S. west coast. The party's organ was the bilingual *Ghadar* ('mutiny'), which called explicitly for armed revolt. The First World War seemed to offer the chance: Ghadar revolutionaries – around eight thousand – returned to India in 1915 to seed an uprising. The Lahore Conspiracy Case (1915) sent dozens to the gallows – including **Kartar Singh Sarabha** (aged 19, hanged 1915), who would become Bhagat Singh's hero.

4.5.2 Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Chandrashekhar Azad

The second-phase Punjab revolutionaries were organised around the **Hindustan Republican Association (HRA, 1924)** and its renamed successor the **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA, 1928)**.

- **Kakori Train Robbery (9 August 1925)** – HRA action led by Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqulla Khan, Rajendra Lahiri, Roshan Singh. All four hanged in 1927.
- **Assembly Bomb Case (8 April 1929)** – Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt threw two bombs into the visitors' gallery of the Central Legislative Assembly in Delhi while it debated the Trade Disputes Bill and the Public Safety Bill. The bombs were designed not to kill but to "make the deaf hear". Both surrendered.
- **Assassination of Saunders (17 December 1928)** – Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev shot Assistant Superintendent of Police J. P. Saunders in Lahore in revenge for the police lathi-charge that killed Lala Lajpat Rai on 17 November 1928.
- **Lahore Conspiracy Case** – Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were hanged on **23 MARCH 1931** despite protest movements across India.
- **Chandrashekhar Azad** – the commander of the HSRA; killed in a shoot-out at Alfred Park, Allahabad (now Chandrashekhar Azad Park), on 27 February 1931, refusing to be taken alive.

Bhagat Singh's prison writings – *Why I am an Atheist*, jail diary, letters – gave the revolutionary tradition an explicitly socialist content that distinguished it from the earlier religious-nationalist Bengal phase.

4.6 Tribal Revolts -- Birsa Munda and Ulgulan

The 2021 and 2023 papers both carried MCQs on Birsa Munda. The Ulgulan was a tribal uprising in the Chotanagpur plateau against the displacement of Munda

customary land rights, the role of forest contractors and missionaries, and the imposition of zamindari-style rents.

- **Birsa Munda (1875–1900)** – declared himself *Dharti Aba* ('Father of the Earth') and led the Mundas, particularly in the Khunti-Tamar belt of Ranchi district.
- The **Ulgulan** ('Great Tumult') reached its peak in 1899–1900. Police stations were attacked; rent records destroyed.
- Birsa was captured on 3 March 1900 and died in Ranchi jail on 9 June 1900 (officially of cholera, possibly poisoned).
- The **Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act 1908** eventually recognised tribal customary tenures – a delayed acknowledgement that the Ulgulan had forced.
- Birsa Munda's image is on India's tribal welfare narrative; his statue stands in Parliament; **November 15** is observed as *Janjatiya Gaurav Diwas*.

4.7 Revolutionary Abroad -- India House, Berlin Committee, San Francisco

- **India House, Highgate, London** – Shyamji Krishnavarma's hostel founded 1905; the journal *The Indian Sociologist* (1905); Savarkar arrived in 1906. The assassination of Sir Curzon Wyllie by **Madanlal Dhingra** in London (1 July 1909) brought the closure of India House.
- **Madame Bhikaji Cama** – unfurled the Indian tricolour at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in 1907; published *Bande Mataram* and *Madan's Talwar* from Paris.
- **Berlin Committee (1915)** – formed by Virendranath Chattopadhyay ('Chatto'), Bhupendra Nath Dutta, Lala Hardayal (briefly), with German backing, to coordinate the wartime conspiracy.
- **Ghadar Party (1913)** – North America base; central role in the 1915 conspiracy.
- **Komagata Maru Incident (1914)** – a Japanese steamship carrying 376 Punjabi immigrants was turned back from Vancouver and ordered to return to Calcutta; on arrival at Budge Budge (29 September 1914) a confrontation with the British killed 19 passengers. The incident radicalised Punjabi opinion.

4.8 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Tripura & the Revolutionary Tradition

Tripura's contribution to the armed nationalist tradition was modest but real, channelled mainly through Bengali Hindu youths from Comilla and the Tippera district (Chittagong/Brahmanbaria region) who were closely linked to Tripura via the Chakla Roshanabad zamindari and the Manikya court.

Comilla connections. The **Anushilan Samiti** had active branches at Comilla and Brahmanbaria. **Suresh Chandra Deb** and other Comilla youths participated in the 1930 Chittagong Armoury Raid under Surya Sen.

Princely Tripura's posture. Officially neutral; in practice, the Manikya court extended discreet support to Bengali intellectuals harassed in British India. Maharaja Bir Bikram Manikya provided refuge and educational opportunities to several political workers.

Janashiksha and Reang Movement (covered in Chapter 15) – though not strictly revolutionary in the Bengal sense, they represented an autonomous Tripura tradition of mass resistance during this period.

The 2019 PYQ on Bose – the Andaman renaming question and Bose's contribution to national movement – has a Tripura ramification: the Manikya court's wartime sympathies, addressed in Chapter 14.

4.9 Important Facts & Quotations

Periodicals to memorise (asked in 2019 MCQ):

- *Bande Mataram* – Aurobindo Ghosh
- *New India* – Bipin Chandra Pal (also Annie Besant later)
- *Yugantar* – Bhupendra Nath Dutta, Barindra Ghosh
- *Sandhya* – Brahmbandhab Upadhyay (NOT Barindra Ghosh, as 2019 paper noted)
- *Kesari / Mahratta* – B. G. Tilak
- *Ghadar* – Ghadar Party (San Francisco)
- *Hindu Patriot* – Harish Chandra Mukherjee
- *Punjabee* – Lala Lajpat Rai

VALUE ADDITION

Slogans & quotations:

- "Inquilab Zindabad" – Bhagat Singh.
- "Mere jaisa shaheed nahi hua hai abhi tak." – attributed to Khudiram Bose before execution ('No martyr like me has yet been born.').

- “*Dharti Aba*” – Birsa Munda’s self-designation.
- “Make the deaf hear” – Bhagat Singh’s intent in the Assembly bombing.
- “*Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamare dil mein hai*” – Bismil’s poem (originally by Ramprasad Bismil’s predecessor Bismil Azimabadi), the Kakori martyrs’ anthem.

4.10 Recent Relevance

- 2020 saw the 100th anniversary of the Chauri Chaura (separately) and renewed government interest in revolutionary commemoration.
- **Janjatiya Gaurav Diwas** (15 November, Birsa Munda’s birth anniversary) was declared in 2021 to honour tribal freedom fighters.
- Republication of Bhagat Singh’s prison writings by Government and private publishers has kept the second-phase tradition in the popular eye.
- Andaman Cellular Jail and the Cellular Jail National Memorial continue to receive heritage attention.

4.11 Sample Questions

1. Discuss the contribution of the revolutionary movement to the Indian struggle for independence. (10)
2. Compare the revolutionary tradition in Bengal with that in Punjab. (10)
3. Evaluate the role of Bhagat Singh in the freedom movement. (5)
4. Examine the significance of the Chittagong Armoury Raid. (5)
5. Trace the Birsa Munda Ulgulan and its long-term significance. (5)
6. “The revolutionary tradition was the radical conscience of the Congress.” Discuss. (10)

4.12 Model Answer -- Revolutionary Movement's Contribution (10 marks)

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

The revolutionary movement was the armed wing of Indian nationalism, parallel to the Moderate and Extremist streams of the Congress and to the Gandhian mass movement. Its contribution can be assessed under five heads.

First, it shattered the myth of British invincibility. The Chapekar assassination (1897), the Alipore bomb (1908), the Delhi bomb on Hardinge (1912), the Saunders shooting (1928), and the Chittagong Armoury Raid (1930) demonstrated that the colonial state could be physically challenged.

Second, it created an alternative iconography of nationalism. Khudiram Bose, Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen, Pritilata Waddadar, Chandrashekhar Azad, Madanlal Dhingra became permanent symbols of self-sacrifice. The phrase *Inquilab Zindabad*, Bhagat Singh's slogan, entered the Indian political vocabulary.

Third, it pressured the colonial state into reforms. The Birsa Munda Ulgulan produced the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act 1908. The Bengal partition agitation and revolutionary violence accelerated the Morley–Minto Reforms (1909). The Bhagat Singh martyrdom of 1931 created the political momentum that fed into the Karachi Session resolution on fundamental rights.

Fourth, it introduced socialist content into the freedom struggle. Bhagat Singh's prison writings – *Why I am an Atheist*, his letter to young political workers – shifted the revolutionary tradition from religious-nationalism (Bengal phase) to explicit socialism (HSRA phase). This influence flowed into the Congress Socialist Party (1934) and the Quit India underground (1942).

Fifth, it provided the trans-national dimension. The Ghadar movement, India House, the Berlin Committee, Madame Cama, Rashbehari Bose in Japan – they made Indian nationalism an international cause.

Conclusion. Revolutionary nationalism was the moral conscience of the freedom movement. Its tactics did not win independence; but its martyrs created the emotional surplus that made independence inevitable.

4.13 Revision Notes

REVISION CAPSULE | Quick Recap

- **Three phases:** 1897-1917 (Bengal-Maharashtra-Punjab); 1919-34 (HRA/H-SRA); 1939-45 (INA, Quit India).
- **Maharashtra:** Chapekars 1897; Tilak's festivals; Savarkar; Abhinav Bharat 1904; Nasik conspiracy 1909; India House 1905.

- **Bengal:** Anushilan 1902; Yugantar 1906; Khudiram-Prafulla 1908; Alipore Bomb 1908-09; Rashbehari 1912 Delhi bomb; Surya Sen Chittagong 1930; Pritilata 1932.
- **Punjab:** Ghadar 1913; Komagata Maru 1914; Lahore Conspiracy 1915; HRA Kakori 1925; HSRA, Bhagat Singh, Saunders 1928, Assembly Bomb 1929, hanging 1931; Azad Allahabad 1931.
- **Tribal:** Birsa Munda; Ulgulan 1899-1900; Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act 1908; Janjatiya Gaurav Diwas 15 Nov.
- **Abroad:** India House Highgate; Madame Cama; Ghadar Party; Berlin Committee; Komagata Maru.
- **Tripura:** Comilla-Anushilan link; Manikya court's discreet sympathy.

4.14 Quick Revision Sheet

QUICK REVISION SHEET

CHAPTER 4 – REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Three regions: Bengal (densest) | Maharashtra (earliest) | Punjab (with overseas Ghadar).

Bengal landmarks: Anushilan Samiti 1902 | Yugantar 1906 | Khudiram-Prafulla bomb at Muzaffarpur 30 Apr 1908; Khudiram hanged 11 Aug 1908 | Alipore Bomb Case 1908-09 (Aurobindo, Barindra Ghosh) | Rashbehari Bose's bomb on Hardinge 23 Dec 1912 | Surya Sen's Chittagong Armoury Raid 18 Apr 1930; Pritilata Waddedar Pahartali raid 23 Sep 1932; Surya Sen hanged 12 Jan 1934.

Maharashtra: Chapekar brothers 22 Jun 1897 (Rand assassination) | Tilak Ganapati 1893, Shivaji 1895 | Savarkar Abhinav Bharat 1904, India House 1906, Nasik conspiracy 1909, transported to Cellular Jail.

Punjab/Overseas: Ghadar Party 15 Jul 1913 (Sohan Singh Bhakna, Lala Hardayal) | Komagata Maru 1914 | Lahore Conspiracy 1915 | HRA Kakori robbery 9 Aug 1925 (Bismil, Ashfaqulla) | HSRA Saunders shooting 17 Dec 1928; Assembly Bomb 8 Apr 1929; Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev hanged 23 Mar 1931 | Chandrashekhar Azad Alfred Park 27 Feb 1931.

Tribal: Birsa Munda Ulgulan 1899-1900; Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act 1908; Janjatiya Gaurav Diwas 15 Nov.

Abroad: India House Highgate 1905; Madame Cama Stuttgart 1907; Berlin Committee 1915; Madanlal Dhingra (Curzon Wylie) 1909.

Periodicals: **Bande Mataram** (Aurobindo) | **Yugantar** (Bhupendra-Barindra) | **Sandhya** (Brahmabandhab) | **Ghadar** (Hardayal) | **Kesar-**

i/Mahratta (Tilak).

Tripura tag: Comilla-Anushilan link; Manikya court discreet sympathy; tribal uprisings (Jamatia, Reang) as parallel autonomous stream.

RISE OF GANDHI: SOUTH AFRICA, SATYAGRAHA, NCM, CDM, QUIT INDIA

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 5 -- Rise of Gandhi: South African Experience, Satyagraha, Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, Quit India Movements.

Why This Chapter Matters

Gandhi has been asked in every single TCS / TPS paper available – 2019 (Quit India most distinct), 2021 (Gandhi in mass movements), 2023 (rise of Gandhi as national leader). This is the single highest-probability area of Section A.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021, 2023

- (2019, 10m) Quit India Movement was the most different from all other Gandhian mass movements. Give reasons.
- (2021, 10m) Assess the role of Gandhi in the mass movements of the last three decades of British rule.
- (2023, 5m) Discuss the factors leading to the rise of Mahatma Gandhi as a national leader in colonial India.
- (2021, MCQ) *Hind Swaraj* – M. K. Gandhi.

- (2023, MCQ) Poona Pact (1932) – Gandhi–Ambedkar.

5.1 Conceptual Introduction

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) transformed the Indian national movement from an elite-led constitutional petition into the largest mass mobilisation of the colonial era. Three innovations made this possible: (i) **Satyagraha**, a method of organised non-violent resistance to injustice; (ii) **a constructive programme**, which knitted political mobilisation to social work (khadi, sanitation, Hindu-Muslim amity, untouchability removal); and (iii) **a moral language** that translated Western liberal-democratic claims into the idiom of *dharma*.

The Gandhian phase (1919–47) is conventionally periodised around three mass movements – Non-Cooperation (1920–22), Civil Disobedience (1930–34) and Quit India (1942) – punctuated by constructive work, satyagraha campaigns and constitutional negotiations.

5.2 South African Experience (1893--1915)

Gandhi arrived in Durban on 24 MAY 1893 as legal counsel for the Indian firm of Dada Abdullah & Co. The famous incident on the Pietermaritzburg railway platform on the night of 7 JUNE 1893 – when Gandhi was thrown out of a first-class compartment despite holding a valid ticket – crystallised his consciousness of colour and colonial injustice. He stayed in South Africa till 1915.

5.2.1 Three Phases of the South African Years

1. **1893–1906 – Moderate Phase.** Petitions, memorials, journalism in *Indian Opinion* (founded 1903). Founded **Natal Indian Congress** (1894).
2. **1906–1914 – Satyagraha Phase.** Black Act / Asiatic Registration Act (1906); first satyagraha campaign 9 September 1906 at the Empire Theatre, Johannesburg. Tolstoy Farm (1910), Phoenix Settlement.
3. **1913–14 – Mass Phase.** Great March from Newcastle to the Transvaal of Indian indentured workers; Gandhi-Smuts agreement (1914): repealed the £3 head tax, recognised Hindu/Muslim/Parsi marriages, abolished the Asiatic Registration Act.

5.2.2 What Gandhi Brought Back from South Africa

- The technique of organised *Satyagraha* – truth-force.

- A working knowledge of mass mobilisation of poor and indentured Indians.
- The discipline of the ashram – austere collective living.
- The conviction that ordinary Indians, organised, could resist a Western state.
- A pamphlet – *Hind Swaraj* (1909) – that distilled his political philosophy.

5.3 Gandhi's Political Philosophy -- The Essentials

- **Satyagraha** – “truth-force”; non-violent resistance to evil; readiness to suffer, never to inflict suffering.
- **Ahimsa** – non-violence in thought, word and deed.
- **Swaraj** – self-rule, both political (independence) and personal (self-mastery).
- **Sarvodaya** – welfare of all.
- **Trusteeship** – a moral framework for wealth: the rich are trustees, not owners, of social wealth.
- **Constructive Programme** – khadi, village industries, Hindi-Hindustani as national language, basic education (Nai Talim), women’s empowerment, removal of untouchability, communal harmony.

5.4 Early Indian Campaigns (1917--1919)

After returning to India in January 1915, Gandhi spent his first year touring the country at Gokhale’s advice (the famous condition: “*first one year of silent travel*”). He founded the **Satyagraha Ashram** at Kochrab, Ahmedabad (1915, later moved to Sabarmati 1917).

5.4.1 Champaran Satyagraha (1917)

- First Indian satyagraha; against the *tinkathia* system (forced indigo cultivation on 3/20 of holdings) in Bihar.
- Local peasant Raj Kumar Shukla invited Gandhi.
- Resulted in the Champaran Agrarian Act 1918 abolishing tinkathia.

5.4.2 Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918)

- Textile workers’ wage dispute with mill-owner Ambalal Sarabhai.
- Gandhi fasted for three days; 35% wage increase secured.
- First use of *fast as a political weapon*.

5.4.3 Kheda Satyagraha (1918)

- Against the demand for full land revenue from Kheda district, Gujarat, despite crop failure.
- Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel emerged as Gandhi's lieutenant.
- Government quietly suspended revenue collection from poorer peasants.

5.5 Rowlatt Satyagraha & Jallianwala Bagh (1919)

5.5.1 Rowlatt Act, March 1919

The Rowlatt Act – formally the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act 1919 – empowered the Government to detain political suspects without trial for up to two years. Gandhi called for a nationwide hartal on 6 APRIL 1919. The response was unprecedented: shops closed, work stopped from Punjab to Madras. This was Gandhi's first all-India political action.

5.5.2 Jallianwala Bagh, 13 April 1919

Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer ordered troops to fire without warning into an unarmed crowd at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on the day of Baisakhi. Official figures: 379 dead, 1,200 wounded. Tagore returned his knighthood; Gandhi denounced the British Empire's "satanic" character; the Hunter Commission's mild censure of Dyer (who was nonetheless given a hero's welcome at the House of Lords) ruptured what remained of Indian faith in British justice.

5.6 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920--1922)

5.6.1 Two Issues, One Movement -- The Khilafat-NCM Convergence

- **Khilafat Movement.** Indian Muslims, led by the Ali brothers (Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali) and Maulana Azad, protested against the dismemberment of the Ottoman Caliphate at the end of WWI.
- **Non-Cooperation Movement.** Gandhi's call to non-cooperate with a government that had committed the Punjab wrong (Jallianwala) and the Khilafat wrong.
- The **Calcutta Special Session** (September 1920) and **Nagpur Session** (December 1920) of the Congress adopted Non-Cooperation.

5.6.2 The Programme

- Surrender of titles and honours.

- Boycott of government schools and colleges – establishment of national schools (Kashi Vidyapith, Jamia Millia Islamia, Bihar Vidyapith).
- Boycott of courts – nationalist lawyers (Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad) gave up practice.
- Boycott of foreign cloth; promotion of khadi and charkha.
- Boycott of legislative councils.
- Refusal of military service.
- Eventual non-payment of taxes.

5.6.3 Chauri Chaura -- 5 February 1922

At Chauri Chaura (Gorakhpur district, UP), a procession of Congress and Khilafat volunteers clashed with the police; the crowd set fire to the police station, killing 22 policemen. Gandhi, deeply disturbed, suspended the entire movement on **12 FEBRUARY 1922** at the Bardoli Resolution – a decision criticised by Subhas Bose, C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, but defended by Gandhi as the only morally consistent course.

Gandhi was arrested in March 1922, tried for sedition, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment (released in 1924 on medical grounds).

5.6.4 Significance of NCM

- First all-India mass movement.
- Brought peasants, students, women into the freedom struggle in large numbers.
- Generated a parallel set of nationalist institutions (schools, panchayats, lawyers).
- Created the Khadi-Charkha symbolism.
- Forged Hindu-Muslim unity (briefly).

5.7 Swaraj Party & Constructive Phase (1923--1929)

- **Swaraj Party** – formed at Allahabad 1 January 1923 by C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru to enter legislative councils and wreck them from within.
- 1923 elections: Swarajists captured 42 of 101 elected seats in Central Legislative Assembly.
- **Simon Commission** appointed November 1927 – all-white – triggered “Simon Go Back” protests across India.
- **Lala Lajpat Rai** killed in police lathi-charge at Lahore (17 November 1928); died 17 November 1928. Saunders shot by Bhagat Singh, Rajguru in revenge.
- **Nehru Report** (Motilal Nehru, 1928) – the Indian alternative to the Simon Com-

mission; called for Dominion Status.

- **Bardoli Satyagraha** (1928) – led by Vallabhbhai Patel; success won him the title *Sardar*.
- **Lahore Session, December 1929** – Jawaharlal Nehru presiding; *Purna Swaraj* adopted as the goal; 26 January 1930 declared Independence Day.

5.8 Civil Disobedience Movement (1930--1934)

5.8.1 The Salt March -- 12 March to 6 April 1930

Gandhi chose the salt tax as the perfect symbolic target – universally felt, palpably unjust. He marched from Sabarmati Ashram with 78 followers, covering 240 miles in 24 days, to the coastal village of Dandi, Gujarat. On 6 APRIL 1930 he picked up a fistful of salt – and the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched.

5.8.2 The Programme

- Breaking the salt law; salt manufacture along the coasts.
- Boycott of foreign cloth, liquor, courts, schools.
- Refusal to pay revenue.
- Picketing of liquor and foreign-cloth shops.
- Cutting of toddy trees.
- Women's mass entry into the movement – Kasturba Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu (Dharasana raid, 21 May 1930), Kamladevi Chattopadhyay.

5.8.3 Gandhi-Irwin Pact & Round Table Conferences

- **First Round Table Conference** (Nov 1930 – Jan 1931) – Congress absent; League and Princes represented.
- **Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 5 March 1931**. CDM withdrawn; political prisoners released (except Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev – hanged 23 March 1931); Congress to attend Second RTC.
- **Second RTC (Sept-Dec 1931)** – Gandhi as sole Congress representative; failed over the question of separate electorates and minority safeguards.
- **Resumption of CDM (January 1932)** after Gandhi's return; mass arrests; Congress declared illegal.
- **Communal Award, 16 August 1932** (Ramsay MacDonald) – separate electorates for depressed classes.
- **Gandhi's Yerwada fast** (20 September 1932); **Poona Pact** (24 September 1932) with Ambedkar – joint electorates with reserved seats for depressed classes.

- Third RTC (Nov-Dec 1932) – Congress again absent.
- Government of India Act 1935 – the result.
- CDM formally suspended April 1934.

5.9 Individual Satyagraha & August Offer (1939-1941)

- **September 1939** – Britain declared India a belligerent without consulting Indian opinion. Congress ministries in provinces resigned (October-November 1939).
- **August Offer, 8 August 1940** (Linlithgow) – Dominion status as long-term goal; expansion of Viceroy's council; promise of post-war constitutional review. Rejected by Congress.
- **Individual Satyagraha (October 1940 – December 1941)** – Vinoba Bhave first satyagrahi (17 October 1940), Jawaharlal Nehru second. By December 1941 some 25,000 had been arrested.
- **Cripps Mission, March-April 1942** – offered Dominion Status with right of provincial accession after war; Constituent Assembly to be formed after war. Rejected by Congress (Gandhi: "a post-dated cheque on a crumbling bank"), League, depressed classes.

5.10 Quit India Movement (1942)

5.10.1 Build-up

The failure of the Cripps Mission, the rapid Japanese advance into Burma and the threat to India's eastern frontier created the conditions for Gandhi's most radical action.

5.10.2 The AICC Resolution -- Bombay, 8 August 1942

- Demanded immediate withdrawal of British power.
- Provided for a provisional government and ratified post-war Constituent Assembly.
- Called for a mass non-violent movement.
- Gandhi's slogan: "**Do or Die**" (*karenge ya marenge*).

5.10.3 Arrests, 9 August 1942

At dawn the entire Congress leadership was arrested – Gandhi at Birla House, Bombay (held at Aga Khan Palace, Pune); Nehru, Patel and others at Ahmednagar Fort.

5.10.4 The Underground Movement

With the formal Congress leadership behind bars, the movement was led from the ground by socialists and second-rank leaders:

- **Jayaprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Ram Manohar Lohia, S. M. Joshi, Achyut Patwardhan, Sucheta Kripalani, Usha Mehta** (Congress Radio from underground).
- **Parallel governments** – Tamluk (Midnapore, Bengal) under Satish Chandra Samanta from 17 December 1942; Satara (Maharashtra) under Y. B. Chavan and Nana Patil; Ballia (UP) under Chittu Pandey from August 1942.
- Railway lines cut, post offices burned, police stations attacked.

5.10.5 What Made Quit India Different (2019 PYQ Focus)

This was the specific 2019 ask. Six distinguishing features:

1. **Spontaneity.** No carefully sequenced programme of action; mass action erupted spontaneously after the arrests.
2. **Violence.** Unlike NCM and CDM, Quit India tolerated – and the population engaged in – destruction of communication lines, attacks on police stations, sabotage. Gandhi did not retract.
3. **No call-back.** Unlike Chauri Chaura's suspension in 1922, Gandhi did not suspend Quit India.
4. **Underground leadership.** The first all-India movement led from underground by second-rank leaders.
5. **Parallel governments.** Tamluk, Satara, Ballia – the first time the Congress organisation actually *governed* territory.
6. **Existential demand.** For the first time the demand was for *immediate* and *full* British withdrawal – not Dominion status, not constitutional reform.

5.10.6 Suppression & Aftermath

By the end of 1942, around 60,000 were arrested; the movement was effectively crushed by the spring of 1943. But the political message was clear – the British could no longer govern India by consent. The post-war Labour Government's decision to grant independence (1947) was made under the long shadow of Quit India.

5.11 Comparative Analysis -- The Three Mass Movements

Parameter	NCM (1920-22)	CDM (1930-34)	Quit India (1942)
Trigger	Rowlatt + Jallian-wala + Khilafat	Salt tax + Lahore Resolution	Cripps failure + Japanese threat
Method	Non-cooperation, boycott	Civil disobedience of specific laws	Mass non-cooperation & sabotage
Demand	Swaraj within empire	Purna Swaraj	Immediate withdrawal
Leadership	Gandhi + Congress + Khilafat	Gandhi + Congress + women	Underground (JP, Aruna, Lohia)
Suspension	Chauri Chaura suspension 1922	Two phases; ended Apr 1934	Never suspended
Violence	Gandhi-imposed strict non-violence	Largely non-violent; Dharasana suffering	Significant sabotage tolerated
Geographic reach	Pan-Indian, urban	Pan-Indian; salt-belt focus	Pan-Indian; rural

5.12 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Gandhi & Tripura

Princely Tripura, ruled during the Gandhian era successively by Birendra Kishore Manikya (1909–1923) and Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya (1923–1947), was not part of British India and could not formally host Congress agitation. Yet the Gandhian movement reached Tripura through several channels:

The Manikya court's attitude. Bir Bikram Manikya was personally sympathetic to the national movement and maintained discreet contact with Congress leaders. His Mukut Pahar palace served on at least one occasion as a meeting place for Bengali nationalists fleeing British surveillance in Comilla.

Khadi in Tripura. Khadi production was actively encouraged in Tripura during the 1930s; the Janashiksha movement (Chapter 15) was led by figures who drew on Gandhian constructive-programme thinking.

World War II contribution. The 2023 PYQ asked specifically about Tripura's contribution to WWI and WWII (a 5-mark question). Tripura supplied recruits, contributed to the war loan and – crucially – bordered the Burma

front. Many Manipur and Mizoram refugees passed through Tripura. **Quit India & Tripura.** While the Quit India Movement (1942) did not formally extend to princely Tripura, the Reang Uprising (1942-43, see Chapter 15) is contemporaneous and reflects similar anti-colonial energies. The Tripura court's silence during Quit India was a calibrated political posture.

5.13 Mains Enrichment Points

VALUE ADDITION

Quotations:

- “Do or die” (*karenge ya marenge*) – Gandhi, Quit India 1942.
- “A post-dated cheque on a crumbling bank” – Gandhi on the Cripps Mission, 1942.
- “Be the change that you wish to see in the world” – attributed to Gandhi.
- “Hatred can be overcome only by love.” – Gandhi.
- “Satyagraha is the substitute for arms.” – Gandhi.
- “He lived with the masses and made them masters of their own destiny.” – a common encapsulation of Gandhian leadership.

5.14 PYQs with Model Answers

PYQ 2019 (10 marks) -- Why Quit India was Most Different

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

The Quit India Movement of 1942 differed from the Non-Cooperation (1920–22) and Civil Disobedience (1930–34) movements on six interlinked counts. (1) **Demand.** For the first time the Congress demanded *immediate and complete withdrawal* of British power – not Dominion status, not constitutional reform, not provincial autonomy. The slogan was “Quit India”, not “negotiate with India”.

(2) **Tolerance of violence.** While NCM was suspended after Chauri Chaura (1922) and CDM remained largely non-violent, Quit India saw – and Gandhi did not retract from – mass sabotage of railways, post offices, telegraph lines and police stations.

(3) **Underground leadership.** The arrests of 9 August 1942 took the entire

Congress high command off the field. The movement was led from underground by Jayaprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Ram Manohar Lohia, Usha Mehta (Congress Radio) and a second cadre of socialists – the only Gandhian movement led without Gandhi.

(4) **Parallel governments.** For the first time the Congress organisation actually administered territory – the *Tamralipta Jatiya Sarkar* in Tamluk (Bengal, December 1942), the *Satara Prati Sarkar* (Maharashtra), the Ballia government (UP, August 1942).

(5) **No call-back.** Gandhi did not suspend Quit India as he had suspended NCM after Chauri Chaura. Even from prison he refused to disavow the movement.

(6) **Spontaneity.** Unlike the carefully sequenced programmes of NCM and CDM, Quit India was a spontaneous mass action erupting after the leadership's arrest.

Conclusion. Quit India was the first revolutionary mass movement of the Congress – mass in scale, militant in method, sub-altern in leadership, total in demand. Although physically crushed by 1943, it broke the political legitimacy of British rule and made the post-1945 transfer of power inevitable.

PYQ 2023 (5 marks) -- Rise of Gandhi as a National Leader

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

Gandhi's rise as the unchallenged leader of the Indian national movement between 1915 and 1920 was the product of several converging factors.

South African apprenticeship. Twenty-one years (1893–1915) of organising Indians in South Africa gave him the technique of Satyagraha and the credibility of an India-wide reputation.

Tutelage of Gokhale. Gokhale's instruction to spend his first year travelling India before entering politics gave him a panoramic feel for the country.

Early Indian campaigns. Champaran (1917), Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918) and Kheda (1918) demonstrated the effectiveness of satyagraha in three different settings.

Rowlatt and Jallianwala (1919). The Rowlatt hartal and the moral revolution against Jallianwala Bagh allowed Gandhi to articulate a pan-Indian grievance.

Khilafat alliance. The Hindu-Muslim convergence of 1919-20 gave Gandhi a base no previous Indian leader had commanded.

By 1920 – a mere five years after returning from South Africa – Gandhi was the undisputed leader of the freedom struggle.

5.15 Sample Questions

1. Evaluate the role of Gandhi's South African experience in shaping his Indian politics. (5)
2. Discuss the contribution of women to the Civil Disobedience Movement. (10)
3. "Chauri Chaura was a moral choice, not a political mistake." Discuss. (10)
4. Analyse the achievements and limitations of the Non-Cooperation Movement. (10)
5. Compare the leadership styles of Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose. (10)
6. How did the Poona Pact reshape the politics of representation in colonial India? (5)

5.16 Revision Notes

REVISION CAPSULE | Recap

- **South Africa:** 1893-1915; Natal Indian Congress 1894; satyagraha at Empire Theatre 1906; Tolstoy Farm 1910; *Hind Swaraj* 1909; Gandhi-Smuts agreement 1914.
- **Early India:** Sabarmati 1917; Champaran 1917; Ahmedabad strike 1918; Kheda 1918.
- **Rowlatt-Jallianwala:** 1919; Tagore returns knighthood.
- **NCM:** Calcutta Special 1920, Nagpur Dec 1920, Chauri Chaura 5 Feb 1922, suspension 12 Feb 1922.
- **Constructive phase:** Swaraj Party 1923; Simon 1927; Lala Lajpat Rai death 17 Nov 1928; Bardoli 1928; Lahore Dec 1929 (Purna Swaraj).
- **CDM:** Salt March 12 Mar - 6 Apr 1930; Gandhi-Irwin 5 Mar 1931; RTC II 1931; Bhagat Singh hanged 23 Mar 1931; Communal Award 16 Aug 1932; Poona Pact 24 Sep 1932; CDM ended Apr 1934.
- **1939-41:** War declaration; ministries resign; August Offer 1940; Individual Satyagraha Oct 1940; Cripps Mar-Apr 1942.
- **Quit India:** AICC Bombay 8 Aug 1942; "Do or Die"; arrests 9 Aug; parallel govts Tamluk-Satara-Ballia; underground (JP, Aruna, Lohia, Usha Mehta).

5.17 Quick Revision Sheet

CHAPTER 5 – RISE OF GANDHI | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Phases: South Africa 1893-1915 | Early India 1915-19 | NCM 1920-22 | Constructive 1922-29 | CDM 1930-34 | Constructive 1934-39 | Individual Satyagraha 1940-41 | Quit India 1942.

Champaran-Ahmedabad-Kheda: indigo, mill workers, revenue suspension. Champaran Act 1918.

Rowlatt 1919 → Jallianwala 13 Apr 1919 → NCM: Calcutta Sept 1920, Nagpur Dec 1920, suspended at Chauri Chaura 5 Feb 1922.

Programme NCM: surrender titles, boycott schools/courts/councils/foreign cloth, khadi, charkha.

Salt March: 12 Mar - 6 Apr 1930, 78 followers, 240 miles, Dandi.

Gandhi-Irwin 5 Mar 1931 → RTC II Sept-Dec 1931 → Communal Award 16 Aug 1932 → Poona Pact 24 Sep 1932 → CDM ended Apr 1934.

Quit India 8-9 Aug 1942: "Do or Die"; Gandhi at Aga Khan Palace; underground (JP, Aruna, Lohia, Usha Mehta); parallel govts Tamluk-Satara-Ballia. **6 reasons Quit India different:** immediate demand, tolerance of violence, underground leadership, parallel govts, no call-back, spontaneous.

Quotes: "Do or die"; "post-dated cheque on a crumbling bank"; "be the change".

Tripura tag: Bir Bikram Manikya's discreet sympathy; khadi in Tripura; Rang Uprising 1942-43 contemporaneous with Quit India; WWI/WWII contributions (2023 PYQ).

ALTERNATIVE IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES: LEFT-WING POLITICS

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 6 -- Alternative Ideologies and Practices: Left-Wing Politics.

Why This Chapter Matters

Left politics is a recognised sleeper topic. While no 10-mark question has yet been put on it directly, the Telangana question (2019, 10m) is its companion topic; Tebhaga (2021, 5m) is rooted in left mobilisation; and the historiographical question of 2023 invited an explicit Marxist reading.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021

- (2019, 10m) Trace the circumstances leading to the armed peasant uprising in Telangana. Assess its significance in contemporary Indian politics. (5+5)
- (2021, 5m) Discuss the views of different political parties regarding the Tebhaga Movement.
- **Latent ask:** “Discuss the emergence of socialist and communist politics in the Indian national movement.” (10m) – expected.

6.1 Conceptual Introduction

The left-wing tradition in Indian politics began as a critique of *both* colonialism and the bourgeois-led Congress mainstream. It introduced into Indian political vocabulary the categories of *class*, *exploitation*, *capitalism*, *labour*, *peasant* and *socialism*. It produced parties (Communist Party of India, Congress Socialist Party, Forward Bloc, Revolutionary Socialist Party), mass organisations (AITUC, All India Kisan Sabha, AISF), and historic peasant uprisings (Tebhaga, Telangana, Punnapra-Vayalar).

6.2 Early Indian Marxism (1920s)

6.2.1 Indian Communist Beginnings

- **Manabendra Nath Roy** (M. N. Roy) – founded the Communist Party of India *in exile* at Tashkent on 17 October 1920 along with Evelyn Trent, Abani Mukherji, Mohammad Shafiq, Mohammad Ali, M. P. B. T. Acharya. The Indian party formally accepts 26 December 1925 (Kanpur Conference) as its inception date.
- Roy attended the Second Congress of the Comintern (1920) and famously contested Lenin's colonial thesis, arguing that the international communist movement should support the proletarian-peasant alliance rather than the bourgeois nationalist movement.
- Returned to India under cover; eventually arrested in 1931 and imprisoned till 1936.

6.2.2 Founding of CPI Within India

Kanpur Bolshevik Conference, 26–28 December 1925, with Singaravelu Chettiar as chairman, formally constituted the Communist Party of India inside the country. The party was banned in 1934 after the Meerut Conspiracy Case.

6.2.3 The Conspiracy Cases

- **Peshawar Conspiracy Cases** (1922–27) – against muhajir communists who had received training in Tashkent.
- **Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case** (1924) – M. N. Roy, S. A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad, Shaikat Usmani, Nalini Gupta arrested.
- **Meerut Conspiracy Case** (1929–33) – 31 communists and trade-union leaders arrested; trial lasted four years; produced *Meerut Reports* – a landmark of Indian labour history.

6.2.4 Workers' and Peasants' Parties (WPP) -- mid-1920s

Provincial WPPs were formed in Bengal (1926), Bombay (1927), Punjab (1928) and UP (1928), bringing together communists, left Congressmen and trade-union activists. They worked inside the Congress while building independent class organisations. Disbanded after 1934 ban on CPI.

6.3 Congress Socialist Party (CSP, 1934)

The Congress Socialist Party was formed on 17 MAY 1934 at Patna, by socialists who wished to push the Congress to the left from inside.

Principal founders:

- Acharya Narendra Dev (President), Jayaprakash Narayan (General Secretary), Achyut Patwardhan, Minoo Masani, Asoka Mehta, Yusuf Meherally, Ram Manohar Lohia, Sampurnanand, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, S. M. Joshi.

Programme:

- Independence as the immediate political goal.
- Socialist reconstruction of the Indian economy.
- Nationalisation of key industries.
- Land reform with abolition of landlordism.
- Mass mobilisation of peasants and workers.

CSP members played a leading role in the Quit India underground – JP, Aruna Asaf Ali, Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan.

6.4 Subhas Chandra Bose and the Forward Bloc (1939)

Detailed treatment in Chapter 11. In summary: Bose, having defeated Pattabhi Sitaramayya for the Congress presidency at Tripuri (1939), resigned under Gandhi's pressure, and founded the **Forward Bloc** on 3 May 1939 as a left platform inside the Congress. The Bloc emphasised anti-imperialist mass action and an alliance with the Axis powers (Bose's controversial choice) during the war.

6.5 Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP, 1940)

Founded by Tridib Chaudhuri and other former Anushilan revolutionaries who had turned to Marxism. The RSP combined the discipline of the revolutionary tradition with the analytic framework of Marxism; it remained smaller than the

CPI but politically distinct.

6.6 Trade Union Movement -- AITUC and After

6.6.1 All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC, 1920)

The 2019 PYQ MCQ on the First President of AITUC asked precisely this. The AITUC was founded on **31 OCTOBER 1920** at Bombay; its first President was **Lala Lajpat Rai**. Other founding personalities: Diwan Chaman Lall (General Secretary), N. M. Joshi, Joseph Baptista, B. P. Wadia.

6.6.2 Splits and Mergers

- 1929 – Royists split off to form the All India Trade Union Federation.
- 1947 – Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) founded by Congress; Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) by socialists in 1948.
- 1970 – CITU founded by CPI(M).

6.7 All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS, 1936)

Founded at **Lucknow** in April 1936 with **Swami Sahajanand Saraswati** as president and N. G. Ranga as general secretary. The Kisan Manifesto (1936) called for abolition of zamindari, scaling-down of rural debt, fixity of tenure, minimum living wage for agricultural workers. The AIKS became the principal platform of peasant left politics; Karyanand Sharma (Bihar), N. G. Ranga (Andhra), Sahajanand (Bihar), E. M. S. Namboodiripad (Kerala) emerged as leaders.

6.8 The Three Great Peasant Uprisings (1946--51)

6.8.1 Tebhaga Movement (1946--47), Bengal -- 2021 PYQ

Origin: The Flood Commission (1940) headed by Sir Francis Floud had recommended that share-cropping bargadars receive two-thirds (*tebhaga*) of the harvest instead of the customary half.

The Movement:

- Launched in September 1946 by the Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha (CPI-led).
- Centres: Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Mymensingh, Midnapore, 24 Parganas.
- Slogan: "*Tebhaga chai, nij khamare dhan tolo*" (Demand two-thirds, store the paddy)

in your own granary).

- Strong participation of tribal and lower-caste peasants – Rajbanshis, Santhals, Mahishyas.
- Police repression severe; movement subsided by mid-1947 under the pressure of partition and Bengal's communal riots.

Views of Different Political Parties (2021 PYQ ask):

Party	Position on Tebhaga
Communist Party of India	Organised the movement; saw it as a class struggle against landlordism; supported peasant agency.
Indian National Congress	Initially ambivalent; provincial Congress government's response was repressive.
Muslim League	Tactically supportive in Muslim-majority districts; passed the Bargadars Bill in March 1947 (never enacted).
Hindu Mahasabha	Largely uninterested; concerned with communal questions.
Forward Bloc & RSP	Supportive; viewed it as part of the radical anti-colonial mobilisation.

Significance:

- Sharpest peasant mobilisation in colonial Bengal.
- Provided the political memory behind West Bengal's later land reforms – Bargadars Act 1950, Operation Barga 1978.
- Contributed to the radicalisation of Bengali politics that would later produce the Naxalbari uprising (1967).

6.8.2 Telangana Armed Struggle (1946--51) -- 2019 PYQ

Context: The princely state of Hyderabad under Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan was, on the eve of independence, a feudal regime: 30% of cultivable land was held by jagirdars; the deshmukh and pattedar landlords commanded vetti (forced) labour; tenants were rack-rented; *vetti*, *bhagela* and other forced services were endemic.

Outbreak:

- Launched July 1946 by the Andhra Mahasabha (CPI-led) in the Telugu-speaking districts of Hyderabad State – Nalgonda, Warangal, Khammam, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Medak.
- Trigger: the murder of **Doddi Komarayya**, a poor peasant of Kadavendi, by a deshmukh's men in July 1946.

- Peasants organised village committees (*gram-rajyas*), confiscated 10 lakh acres of land, abolished vetti, fixed minimum wages.
- At peak: 3,000 villages under Communist control across 16,000 sq km; 10,000 armed guerrillas.

Phase II (1948–51):

- Operation Polo (September 1948) – Indian Army action against the Nizam.
- Hyderabad acceded to India; but the Army turned on the communists too.
- Sundarayya, Ravi Narayan Reddy, P. Y. Ramamurthi, Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao led the struggle.
- CPI national leadership debated – BTR Line (B. T. Ranadive's adventurist line urging extension) vs Joshi Line vs Andhra Thesis (Telangana model worth replicating). At the Calcutta Congress 1948, the BTR line prevailed.
- Struggle officially called off in October 1951 by the CPI.

Significance:

- Largest armed peasant struggle in modern Indian history.
- Forced the accession of Hyderabad to India (Operation Polo).
- Compelled rural land reforms in the early 1950s.
- Became the foundational reference of later left-extremist movements (Naxalbari, CPI-ML).
- Achieved tangible gains: abolition of vetti, land redistribution, wage settlements.

6.8.3 Punnapra-Vayalar (1946), Travancore

A November 1946 uprising of agricultural and coir workers in Travancore against the Travancore Diwan C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's "American Model" constitutional plan. CPI-led; suppressed with heavy loss of life. Strengthened the political ground for Communist victory in the 1957 Kerala elections.

6.9 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Left Politics in Tripura

Left politics in Tripura emerged later than in Bengal or Hyderabad but produced one of the strongest regional Communist movements in India.

Origins – Janashiksha Samiti. The first organised left work in Tripura was channelled through the **Janashiksha Samiti** (1945, see Chapter 15) led by Sudhanya Deb Barma, Sukhamoy Sen Gupta and others. The Samiti pursued literacy and agrarian work in the Kokborok-speaking tribal villages of the hill

regions.

Tripura Rajya Mukti Parishad. In 1948 the political wing was reorganised as the Tripura Rajya Mukti Parishad, which contested the merger debates of 1948–49 and later evolved into the local Communist Party.

Reang Uprising 1942–43. Concurrent with the Quit India Movement, the Reang Uprising under Ratan Mani Reang protested forced labour (*huzur dakka*) and excessive taxation. It was led from a feudal-grievance base but bore a class character – and was claimed in CPI historiography as a left-influenced peasant struggle.

Long Tradition. Tripura would later become the third Indian state (after Kerala and West Bengal) to elect a Communist government – a tradition with roots in the Janashiksha-Mukti Parishad lineage.

6.10 Recent Relevance

- Centenary of the CPI's Tashkent founding (1920–2020).
- Operation Barga (1978) and Kerala land reforms continue to be cited as positive outcomes of the left peasant tradition.
- Naxalbari (May 1967) drew on the Tebhaga and Telangana models.
- Government of India's recognition of tribal rights through PESA (1996) and Forest Rights Act (2006) acknowledges the peasant-tribal grievances first articulated in the Telangana and Tebhaga movements.

6.11 Important Facts

- CPI founded in exile – Tashkent, 17 Oct 1920; M. N. Roy.
- CPI inside India – Kanpur Bolshevik Conference, 26–28 Dec 1925.
- CPI banned – 1934, after Meerut Conspiracy Case.
- AITUC – 31 Oct 1920, Bombay; first President: **Lala Lajpat Rai** (2019 MCQ).
- AIKS – April 1936, Lucknow; Swami Sahajanand Saraswati President; N. G. Ranga GS.
- CSP – 17 May 1934, Patna; Narendra Dev President; JP General Secretary.
- Forward Bloc – 3 May 1939; Bose.
- RSP – 1940.
- Tebhaga – 1946–47, Bengal; CPI-led; demand for 2/3 share to bargadars.
- Telangana – 1946–51; Andhra Mahasabha / CPI; abolished vetti; 3,000 villages.
- Punnapra-Vayalar – October–November 1946, Travancore.

6.12 PYQ Model Answers

PYQ 2019 (10m) -- Telangana: Circumstances & Significance (5+5)

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

Circumstances (5 marks). The Telangana armed peasant struggle (1946–51) erupted in the Telugu-speaking districts of the princely state of Hyderabad under the Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan. Three interlocking grievances produced it.

First, feudal land relations: jagirdars and deshmukhs held 30% of cultivable land; tenants were rack-rented; vetti (forced) labour, bhagela bonded labour and other servile services were endemic.

Second, the Andhra Mahasabha, closely linked to the CPI, organised peasants from 1944–46 around abolition of vetti, minimum wages and tenure security. *Third, the trigger,* was the murder of Doddi Komarayya, a Communist organiser of Kadavendi village, Nalgonda district, by a deshmukh's men in July 1946.

The struggle spread rapidly across Nalgonda, Warangal, Khammam, Karimnagar, Adilabad and Medak. At its peak 10,000 armed guerrillas controlled 3,000 villages spread over 16,000 sq km; vetti was abolished; 10 lakh acres redistributed.

Significance (5 marks).

- *Forced Hyderabad's accession.* Operation Polo (September 1948) was prompted as much by communist territorial control as by the Razakar threat. The Indian Army defeated the Nizam but immediately turned on the communists – a fact which makes Telangana the only theatre where the Indian Army fought on both sides of the political spectrum within weeks.
- *Compelled land reforms.* Hyderabad's Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act 1950 and subsequent zamindari abolition across India drew on Telangana's pressure.
- *Model for later struggles.* Telangana became the foundational reference for Naxalbari (1967) and the CPI-ML.
- *Sharpened the CPI's internal debate* – BTR adventurist line vs Andhra Thesis vs Joshi line. The party formally called off the struggle in October 1951.
- *Established the Telangana regional identity* that would later drive the 2014 statehood movement.

Conclusion. Telangana was the largest armed peasant uprising in modern Indian history and the only one whose memory drives mainstream politics

seventy years later.

PYQ 2021 (5m) -- Political Parties' Views on Tebhaga

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

The Tebhaga Movement (1946–47), demanding two-thirds of the harvest for share-cropper bargadars in Bengal, drew sharply divergent responses from the political parties of the day.

Communist Party of India, through the Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha, organised and led the movement, framing it as a class struggle against landlordism. *Indian National Congress*, in provincial government in 1946–47, was ambivalent at the national level but repressive at the local level; police action against bargadars in Dinajpur and Rangpur was conducted under Congress administration.

Muslim League, which formed the provincial ministry, was tactically supportive in Muslim-majority districts and passed the Bargadars Bill in March 1947 – never enacted because of partition.

Forward Bloc and RSP supported the movement as part of the radical anti-colonial mobilisation.

Hindu Mahasabha stayed aloof, preoccupied with communal questions.

The movement's collapse in mid-1947 was overdetermined by partition and the communal riots.

6.13 Sample Questions

1. Trace the origins of the Communist movement in India. (10)
2. Discuss the role of the Congress Socialist Party in the freedom struggle. (10)
3. Analyse the contribution of the All India Kisan Sabha. (5)
4. "The Telangana struggle was a peasant revolution within a national revolution." Discuss. (10)
5. Compare and contrast the Tebhaga and Telangana movements. (10)
6. Examine the contribution of trade-unionism to Indian nationalism. (5)

6.14 Quick Revision Sheet

CHAPTER 6 – LEFT-WING POLITICS | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Founding dates: CPI Tashkent 17 Oct 1920 (M. N. Roy) | CPI in India: Kanpur Bolshevik Conf., 26-28 Dec 1925 | AITUC: 31 Oct 1920, Bombay, **Lala Lajpat Rai** first President | AIKS: April 1936, Lucknow, Sahajanand | CSP: 17 May 1934, Patna, Narendra Dev/JP | Forward Bloc: 3 May 1939, Bose | RSP: 1940.

Conspiracy cases: Peshawar 1922-27 | Kanpur Bolshevik 1924 | Meerut 1929-33.

Tebhaga (1946-47, Bengal): CPI-led; 2/3 share for bargadars; Dinajpur, Rangpur centres; Bargadars Bill March 1947 (never enacted); collapsed with partition.

Telangana (1946-51, Hyderabad): Andhra Mahasabha; Doddi Komarayya killing July 1946; 3,000 villages, 16,000 sq km; vetti abolished; 10 lakh acres redistributed; Operation Polo Sept 1948; CPI called off Oct 1951.

Punnapra-Vayalar (Nov 1946, Travancore) – CPI led; coir workers.

Trade unions: AITUC 1920 (Lajpat Rai); INTUC 1947 (Congress); HMS 1948 (socialists); CITU 1970 (CPM).

Tripura tag: Janashiksha Samiti 1945; Tripura Rajya Mukti Parishad 1948; Reang Uprising 1942-43; tradition of Communist government later.

DALIT MOVEMENTS -- BENGAL, BOMBAY AND MADRAS PRESIDENCIES

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 7 -- Dalit Movements -- Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

Why This Chapter Matters

The 2021 paper carried a 10-mark question explicitly asking about “main features of Dalit movement in Bombay and Madras presidencies” – one of the most direct PYQs in the section. The 2019 paper carried a 5-mark question on Phule’s influence on Maharashtra. The 2023 paper carried multiple MCQs on Ambedkar (Poona Pact, periodicals, depressed-classes conferences).

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021, 2023

- (2019, 5m) How did Jyotiba Phule influence the Dalit Movement of Maharashtra?
- (2021, 10m) What were the main features of Dalit movement in Bombay and Madras presidencies during British India?
- (2021, MCQ) Shri Narayan Guru carried out social reforms among –

Ezhavas of Kerala.

- (2023, MCQ) Poona Pact (1932) – Gandhi–Ambedkar; Ambedkar’s periodicals – *Mooknayak*, *Bahishkrit Bharat*, *Bahishkrit Samaj* (*Janta* is wrong).

7.1 Conceptual Introduction

The Dalit movement in colonial India was the parallel struggle to dismantle untouchability – a struggle that engaged the freedom movement at every level but was never fully absorbed by it. The Indian National Congress addressed untouchability as a social problem, principally through Gandhi’s Harijan campaign; B. R. Ambedkar insisted that it was a political problem of representation requiring separate constitutional protection. The history of the Dalit movement is largely the history of this disagreement.

7.2 Pre-Ambedkar Pioneers

7.2.1 Bengal -- Sri Narayan Guru of Kerala (geographically Madras Presidency)

- **Sri Narayana Guru (1856–1928)** – Ezhava sage of Travancore.
- Founded the **Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP)** in 1903 to organise Ezhavas, an avarna community traditionally barred from temple entry.
- Slogan: “*One Caste, One Religion, One God for Man*” (*Oru jati, oru matam, oru daivam manushyanu*).
- Built temples open to all (Aruvippuram 1888 – Shiva idol consecrated by a non-Brahmin – a radical act).
- Led the **Vaikom Satyagraha (1924–25)** for temple-road access for avarnas; T. K. Madhavan, Mannath Padmanabhan, K. P. Kesava Menon, Gandhi associated.

7.2.2 Madras Presidency -- Periyar and the Self-Respect Movement

- **E. V. Ramasamy Periyar (1879–1973)** – founded the **Self-Respect Movement** (*Suyamariyathai Iyakkam*) in 1925 in Tamil Nadu.
- Demanded the abolition of caste, especially Brahmin domination.
- Promoted Self-Respect marriages (without Brahmin priests).
- Demanded reservations in education and government employment (the Communal G. O. 1921 in Madras was an early result).

- Founded the **Dravidar Kazhagam (1944)**, the parent organisation of the DMK and AIADMK.

7.2.3 Maharashtra -- Jyotirao Phule (2019 PYQ)

- **Jyotirao Phule (1827–1890)** – the founding figure of modern Indian anti-caste politics.
- Established the **Satyashodhak Samaj (1873)** in Pune.
- Wrote *Gulamgiri* ('Slavery', 1873) drawing an explicit parallel between the African slave and the Indian Shudra.
- Wrote *Shetkaryacha Asud* ('The Whipcord of the Cultivator', 1881-83) – a peasant manifesto.
- Opened the first school for girls in Pune (1848) with his wife **Savitribai Phule** – India's first woman teacher.
- Opened first school for untouchable girls in Pune (1851).
- Coined the term *Dalit* in Marathi to describe the broken/oppressed castes.

7.2.4 Maharashtra -- Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur (1874--1922)

- Princely ruler of Kolhapur, 1894–1922.
- Reserved 50% of state jobs for backward classes (1902) – the first formal reservation order in India.
- Established hostels for untouchable students.
- Supported Ambedkar's education at the New York and London universities.
- Convened the **All India Depressed Classes Conference** at Mangaon, 1920, with Ambedkar.

7.2.5 Bengal -- The Namasudra Movement

- **Guruchand Thakur (1846–1937)** – Matua spiritual leader; organised Namasudras (chandals) of east Bengal.
- Founded schools, demanded reservations, urged Namasudras to enrol in the census not as 'chandal' but as 'Namasudra'.
- The Matua Mahasangha (founded by his father Harichand Thakur, 1859) became a long-running socio-political vehicle of Namasudras.
- Allied with the Muslim League in the 1937 and 1946 elections to ensure separate political representation; this contributed to the political fortunes of Jogendra Nath Mandal.

7.2.6 Bengal -- Jogendra Nath Mandal (1904--1968)

- Namasudra political leader from Barisal.
- First Law Minister of Pakistan (1947–50); resigned in 1950 over the persecution of Bengali Hindus and returned to India.
- Illustrates the failure of the Dalit-Muslim alliance against caste-Hindu domination.

7.3 B. R. Ambedkar -- Bombay Presidency & Beyond

7.3.1 Early Life and Education

- Born 14 April 1891 at Mhow (Indore); died 6 December 1956 at Delhi.
- Mahar by birth; educated at Elphinstone College Bombay; Columbia University (MA 1915, PhD 1927 – *The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India*); London School of Economics; Gray's Inn (Barrister).

7.3.2 Organisations Founded

- **Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha** (1924) – “Society for the Welfare of the Outcast”.
- **Samaj Samata Sangh** (1927) – inter-caste social equality society.
- **Independent Labour Party** (1936) – contested Bombay 1937 elections, won 15 of 17 seats.
- **Scheduled Castes Federation** (1942) – successor to ILP for depressed-class representation.
- **People's Education Society** (1945) – Siddharth College Bombay (1946), Milind College Aurangabad (1950).
- **Republican Party of India** (founded posthumously per Ambedkar's design, 1956).

7.3.3 Major Satyagrahas

- **Mahad Satyagraha** (1927) – for the right of Mahars to drink from the Chavdar Tank, Mahad, Maharashtra. Manusmriti publicly burned by Ambedkar (25 December 1927).
- **Kalaram Temple Entry Satyagraha** (1930) – for entry of Mahars to the Kalaram Temple, Nashik.

7.3.4 Periodicals Founded (2023 MCQ ask)

- *Mooknayak* (1920) – Marathi, fortnightly.
- *Bahishkrit Bharat* (1927) – Marathi.
- *Samata* (1928).
- *Janata* (1930) – later renamed *Prabuddha Bharat* after Ambedkar's Buddhist conversion.

(*"Bahishkrit Samaj"* was distractor – not actually one of his periodicals; *"Janata"* is real; *"Bahishkrit Bharat"* and *"Mooknayak"* are real.)

7.3.5 Round Table Conferences & Communal Award

- Ambedkar attended all three RTCs (1930–32) as the depressed-class representative.
- **Communal Award (16 August 1932)** – separate electorates for depressed classes.
- Gandhi's Yerwada fast unto death (20 September 1932).
- **Poona Pact (24 September 1932)** – between Gandhi (in fast) and Ambedkar. Joint electorates with reserved seats: 148 seats for depressed classes in provincial legislatures (up from 71 promised under Communal Award); 18% reservation in the Central Legislature. Primary elections within depressed-class community would shortlist candidates for general election.

7.3.6 Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly

- Chairman, Drafting Committee, 29 August 1947.
- Article 17 – abolition of untouchability.
- Article 15 – prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth.
- Articles 330, 332, 335, 338 – reservations and safeguards for SCs and STs.

7.3.7 Buddhist Conversion -- 14 October 1956

Deeksha Bhoomi, Nagpur – Ambedkar and approximately 365,000 followers embraced Buddhism. His book *The Buddha and His Dhamma* (1957, posthumous) articulated his Navayana Buddhism.

7.4 Comparative Table -- Three Presidencies

Parameter	Bombay Presidency	Madras Presidency	Bengal Presidency
Pioneers	Phule, Shahu, Ambedkar	Narayana Guru, Periyar, Iyothee Thass	Harichand-Guruchand Thakur, J. N. Mandal
Key Organisations	Satyashodhak Samaj, Bahishkrit Hitakarini, ILP, SCF	SNDP Yogam, Self-Respect Movement, Justice Party (1916), Dravidar Kazhagam	Matua Mahasangha, Namasudra Samaj
Methods	Satyagraha (Mahad, Kalaram), legal-constitutional, political organisation	Self-Respect marriages, anti-Brahmin agitation, electoral mobilisation	Caste re-classification in census, electoral alliance
Religious dimension	Buddhist conversion 1956	Anti-religious / rationalist	Matua sect
Major outcome	Constitutional protection (Poona Pact, reservations)	Communal G.O. 1921; Reservation system in Madras	Limited political representation; Partition split base

7.5 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Caste & Community in Tripura

Princely Tripura's social structure differed sharply from peninsular India. The Manikya state was tribal in origin; the dominant communities were the Tripuri, Reang, Jamatia, Halam, Noatia, Chakma and Mog. The varna-based caste system applied chiefly to the Bengali immigrant population from Sylhet, Comilla and Brahmanbaria (which itself rose sharply after the 1947 partition).

Pre-1947. The Manikya court formally recognised distinctions among Bengali settlers but did not enforce untouchability in the peninsular sense. Reform measures of Birchandra and Bir Bikram (notably the abolition of Sati under Birchandra) had reduced Brahmin-led social rigidities at the court.

Post-1947. The mass influx of Hindu Bengali migrants brought caste hierarchies more visibly into Tripura's social fabric. The Namasudra community (Matua) was a significant component of this migration. Today the Matua Mahasangha has a political presence in the state.

The Janashiksha movement – its accent on adult tribal literacy and agrarian reform anticipated the kind of social reform that the peninsular Dalit movement pursued in a different idiom.

7.6 Mains Enrichment Points

VALUE ADDITION

Quotations:

- “Educate, agitate, organise.” – B. R. Ambedkar.
- “One caste, one religion, one God for man.” – Sri Narayana Guru.
- “We need a moral and spiritual democracy.” – Ambedkar.
- “I do not want this country governed by Babus and Brahmins.” – Periyar (paraphrased).
- “The condition of the Shudras is worse than that of the African slave.” – Phule, *Gulamgiri*.

7.7 PYQ Model Answers

PYQ 2019 (5m) -- Phule's Influence on the Maharashtra Dalit Movement

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

Jyotirao Phule (1827–1890) was the foundational figure of the modern anti-caste tradition in Maharashtra and his influence on the later Dalit movement was decisive.

Institutional founding. His *Satyashodhak Samaj* (1873) provided the first organisational platform for anti-caste politics outside the Brahmin-led reform tradition.

Intellectual contribution. *Gulamgiri* (1873) and *Shetkaryacha Asud* (1881-83) constructed a Shudra-peasant critique of Brahminism and colonialism together.

Educational pioneering. The schools he and Savitribai opened for girls (1848) and untouchable children (1851) created the first secular educational space for the oppressed.

Vocabulary. He coined the Marathi term *dalit* (broken/oppressed) which Ambedkar inherited.

Direct legacy. Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, B. R. Ambedkar and the Republican Party tradition all explicitly claim Phule. The 50% reservation in Kolhapur (1902), the Mahad satyagraha (1927), the constitutional safeguards of 1950 stand on Phule’s intellectual foundation.

PYQ 2021 (10m) -- Main Features of Dalit Movement in Bombay & Madras Presidencies

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

The Dalit movements in Bombay and Madras Presidencies, though originating from a common grievance, evolved distinct features.

Bombay Presidency. *Origins:* Phule's Satyashodhak Samaj (1873) provided the founding institutional base. *Ambedkar's leadership* (1920s onwards): Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha (1924), Samaj Samata Sangh (1927), Independent Labour Party (1936), Scheduled Castes Federation (1942). *Methods:* satyagraha (Mahad 1927, Kalaram 1930), political organisation, legal-constitutional advocacy. *Constitutional achievement:* Poona Pact (1932); reservations under Government of India Act 1935; ultimately Articles 17, 330-338 of the Constitution. *Symbolic culmination:* Buddhist conversion at Nagpur, 14 October 1956. *Press:* *Mooknayak* (1920), *Bahishkrit Bharat* (1927), *Janata* (1930).

Madras Presidency. *Origins:* the SNDP Yogam (1903) of Sri Narayana Guru; the Justice Party (1916) of T. M. Nair and Pitti Theyagaraya Chetty. *Periyar's Self-Respect Movement* (1925): radical anti-Brahmin politics, self-respect marriages, rationalist agenda; later Dravidar Kazhagam (1944). *Methods:* Vaikom Satyagraha (1924-25) for temple-road access; mass mobilisation; electoral politics through Justice Party and DK. *Constitutional achievement:* Communal G.O. (1921) in Madras Presidency – the first formal reservation order in British India; later 69% reservation regime in Tamil Nadu. *Religious dimension:* Periyar's atheist-rationalist orientation contrasted sharply with Ambedkar's Buddhist turn.

Comparative observations. Both presidencies produced organised, theoretical and political Dalit movements that decisively shaped the constitutional and electoral architecture of independent India. Bombay's tradition emphasised constitutional reform and Buddhist religious identity; Madras's emphasised anti-Brahmin Dravidian politics and rationalism. Both stand in marked contrast to the Bengal model, which depended more on Matua sectarian identity and electoral alliance.

7.8 Sample Questions

1. Evaluate the contribution of Sri Narayana Guru to the social reform movement in Kerala. (10)
2. "Periyar's Self-Respect Movement was as much an anti-Brahmin movement as it was a Dalit movement." Discuss. (10)

3. Analyse the significance of the Poona Pact (1932). (5)
4. Examine the contribution of Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur to anti-caste politics. (5)
5. Compare the political strategies of Gandhi and Ambedkar on untouchability. (10)
6. Discuss the Namasudra movement in colonial Bengal. (5)

7.9 Quick Revision Sheet

CHAPTER 7 – DALIT MOVEMENTS | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Bombay: Phule (Satyashodhak 1873, *Gulamgiri* 1873) → Shahu Kolhapur (50% reservation 1902) → Ambedkar (Bahishkrit Hitakarini 1924, Mahad 1927, Kalaram 1930, ILP 1936, SCF 1942, Constitution 1950, Buddhist conversion Nagpur 14 Oct 1956).

Madras: Narayana Guru (SNDP 1903, “One caste...”), Vaikom Satyagraha 1924-25 → Justice Party 1916 → Periyar Self-Respect 1925, Dravidar Kazhagam 1944, Communal G.O. 1921.

Bengal: Harichand-Guruchand Thakur (Matua Mahasangha 1859), Namasudras, J. N. Mandal (first Law Minister Pakistan).

Constitutional Milestones: Poona Pact 24 Sep 1932; Govt of India Act 1935 (reserved seats); Articles 15, 17, 330, 332, 335, 338, 340.

Ambedkar’s periodicals: *Mooknayak* 1920 | *Bahishkrit Bharat* 1927 | *Samata* 1928 | *Janata* 1930 (→ *Prabuddha Bharat*).

Famous lines: “Educate, agitate, organise” (Ambedkar) | “One caste, one religion, one God for man” (Narayana Guru) | “Shudra condition worse than African slave” (Phule).

Tripura tag: Manikya state largely tribal; post-1947 Matua influx; Janashiksha as parallel reform tradition.

MUSLIM LEAGUE POLITICS

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 8 -- Muslim League Politics.

Why This Chapter Matters

The Muslim League's politics is the political backbone of the partition narrative. Although direct LAT questions on the League have not appeared in 2019–2023, MCQs on Salimullah-Mohsin-ul-Mulk, separate electorates, Lucknow Pact, the 1940 Resolution, and August Offer have been routine. The 2023 paper carried multiple MCQs adjacent to this topic; the partition question itself (2023 Q2(v)) drew partly on League politics.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2023

- (2019, MCQ) The All India Muslim League was established on 30 December 1906 by – Nawab Salimullah.
- (2023, 5m) Write a short note on the various movements leading to the partition and independence of India between 1946 and 1947.
- (2023, MCQ) Linlithgow presented the August Offer 1940.
- **Latent ask:** “Trace the evolution of the Muslim League from 1906 to 1940.” (10m) – highly probable.

8.1 The Aligarh Background (1875--1906)

8.1.1 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817--1898)

- Founder of the **Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College** at Aligarh (1875) – later Aligarh Muslim University (1920).
- Loyalist to the British post-1857; saw Western education as the path to Muslim resurgence.
- Discouraged Muslim participation in the INC, viewing it as a Hindu-dominated body whose democratic methods (one-man-one-vote majority rule) would disadvantage Muslims.
- Articulated – though did not yet formalise – the idea of Hindu and Muslim as “two communities”.

8.1.2 The Mohammedan Educational Conference (1886)

Founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as an annual platform to coordinate Muslim educational and social initiatives. Its 1906 session at Dacca laid the immediate ground for the founding of the Muslim League.

8.1.3 The Simla Deputation -- 1 October 1906

A delegation of 35 Muslim notables led by **Aga Khan III** (Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah) met Viceroy **Lord Minto** at Simla on 1 October 1906. They demanded:

- Separate electorates for Muslims.
- Weightage in legislative councils.
- Representation in proportion to political importance, not numbers.

Minto's enthusiastic response (“We rule on the principle of one Indian after another”) is often quoted as proof of the British divide-and-rule strategy.

8.2 Founding of the All India Muslim League -- 30 December 1906

The All India Muslim League was founded at **Dacca (Dhaka)** on **30 DECEMBER 1906**, on the sidelines of the Mohammedan Educational Conference. The 2019 MCQ specifically asked who founded it – **Nawab Salimullah of Dacca** (with the active support of Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Aga Khan III).

Founding objectives:

- Loyalty to the British Government.
- Protection and advancement of the political rights of Indian Muslims.
- Prevention of feelings of hostility between Muslims and other communities.

Founding Personalities:

- Nawab Salimullah of Dacca (founder)
- Mohsin-ul-Mulk
- Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk
- Aga Khan III (first President)
- Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar

8.3 Phase I -- Loyalist League (1906--1913)

The early League was a body of landlords, talukdars and conservative notables. Its early statements consistently affirmed loyalty to the empire. The Morley–Minto Reforms (**Indian Councils Act 1909**) granted the long-demanded **separate electorates** – the legal device that would become the central instrument of communal politics for the next four decades.

8.4 Phase II -- League--Congress Cooperation (1913--1924)

8.4.1 Lucknow Session 1913

The League adopted self-government on Indian lines as its goal – a departure from pure loyalism. The shift was led by Mohammad Ali Jauhar, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Azad and a younger generation.

8.4.2 Lucknow Pact -- December 1916

Signed at the Lucknow Session of both the INC and the League. Negotiated chiefly by Tilak (Congress) and Jinnah (League).

Key provisions:

- The Congress accepted separate Muslim electorates.
- Weightage for Muslims where they were in minority (Madras, Bombay, UP, Bihar, CP); under-weightage where in majority (Bengal, Punjab).
- Two-thirds of provincial legislative council seats elected; one-third nominated.
- Joint demand for self-government.

Jinnah – then a Congress-League member – was at this stage the “Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity”.

8.4.3 Khilafat & Non-Cooperation -- 1919--1922

The Khilafat Movement, led by the Ali Brothers, brought Indian Muslims into the Non-Cooperation Movement on Gandhi's invitation. The Khilafat-NCM convergence (1920–22) is the high-water mark of Hindu-Muslim political unity. It collapsed:

- **Mustafa Kemal Pasha** abolished the Caliphate (3 March 1924), removing the issue around which the Khilafat had organised.
- Chauri Chaura (5 Feb 1922) and Gandhi's NCM suspension demoralised the Khilafat leadership.
- Communal violence in Malabar (Moplah, 1921), Multan (1922), Saharanpur (1922) damaged inter-community trust.

8.5 Phase III -- Communal Drift (1924--1937)

8.5.1 Muddiman Committee, 1924

The Muddiman Committee on Reforms exposed deep Congress-League differences on the future constitutional shape.

8.5.2 Delhi Muslim Proposals 1927

Jinnah's "Delhi Muslim Proposals" (March 1927) offered to give up separate electorates in exchange for:

- Reservation of seats proportional to population in Punjab, Bengal, NWFP, Sind, Bombay.
- Separation of Sind from Bombay.
- Constitutional reform of NWFP and Baluchistan.

8.5.3 Nehru Report -- August 1928

Motilal Nehru's All Parties Conference Report rejected separate electorates and the Muslim weightage demand. Jinnah, after the All Parties Convention's hostile reception at Calcutta (December 1928), countered with his **Fourteen Points** (March 1929):

- Federal constitution with residuary powers in provinces.
- Uniform autonomy for all provinces.
- Adequate Muslim representation in every cabinet.
- One-third Muslim representation in the central legislature.
- Separation of Sind from Bombay.

- Reforms in NWFP and Baluchistan.
- Separate electorates – preserved.
- No bill or resolution affecting Muslim community to be passed if three-fourths of Muslim members object.

The Fourteen Points became the League's manifesto for the 1930s.

8.5.4 Round Table Conferences 1930--32

- Congress absent from RTC I; League present.
- RTC II (1931) – Gandhi attended; the question of separate electorates dominated discussions.
- **Communal Award, 16 August 1932** (Ramsay MacDonald) – separate electorates retained and extended to depressed classes (the latter modified by the Poona Pact).

8.5.5 Government of India Act 1935

Provincial autonomy with a federal structure (federation never came into effect). Provincial elections held 1937. Congress swept the elections, forming governments in 7 of 11 provinces. The League performed poorly – it won only 109 of 482 reserved Muslim seats. Congress did not invite the League to share power in the UP government (1937), a refusal often cited as the moment Jinnah moved decisively towards a separate Muslim political community.

8.6 Phase IV -- Towards Pakistan (1937--1947)

8.6.1 Lahore Resolution -- 23 March 1940 ('`Pakistan Resolution')

At the League's Lahore Session, Jinnah delivered his "Two-Nation Theory" speech. The session passed the **Lahore Resolution** on 23 March 1940, moved by A. K. Fazlul Huq:

"The areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

Pakistan as a name was not used in the resolution; the term had been coined by Choudhry Rahmat Ali in 1933 ("P-A-K-I-S-T-A-N" from Punjab, Afghan, Kashmir, Sindh, Baluchistan). But 23 March 1940 is celebrated as Pakistan Day.

8.6.2 August Offer (1940) and Cripps Mission (1942)

- **August Offer (8 August 1940)** – Viceroy Linlithgow proposed Dominion status as the long-term goal and a War Advisory Council; Congress rejected, League cautiously accepted in principle.
- **Cripps Mission (March-April 1942)** – offered Dominion status, right of provincial accession after war, Constituent Assembly. Rejected by Congress (“post-dated cheque”), League (no clear partition) and depressed classes.

8.6.3 During Quit India (1942)

The Muslim League stayed out of Quit India. Jinnah denounced the movement. The two-and-a-half years of Congress’s wartime imprisonment gave the League room to build its organisation – the period in which the League captured the political imagination of the Muslim middle class.

8.6.4 C. R. Formula & Gandhi-Jinnah Talks (1944)

- C. Rajagopalachari’s formula (1944) – accept the Lahore Resolution in principle in return for League cooperation in interim government.
- Gandhi-Jinnah talks (September 1944) at Jinnah’s Bombay residence – broke down over the question of *which provinces* would form Pakistan.

8.6.5 Simla Conference -- June 1945

Viceroy Lord Wavell convened representatives of all major parties at Simla. Broke down over Jinnah’s demand that all Muslim members of the Executive Council be League nominees (which would have made the League the sole spokesman for Indian Muslims).

8.6.6 Elections of 1945--46

- Central Legislative Assembly: Congress 57 of 102 general seats; League 30 of 30 Muslim seats.
- Provincial: Congress majorities in 8 provinces; League in Bengal, Sind.
- The League’s electoral consolidation made partition politically inevitable.

8.6.7 Cabinet Mission Plan -- May 1946

- Three-tier federation: provinces – groups – centre.
- Centre with three subjects only: defence, foreign affairs, communications.
- Three groups: A (Hindu-majority), B (Muslim-majority NW), C (Muslim-majority NE).

- Rejected the demand for separate Pakistan.
- Both Congress and League initially accepted, then quarrelled over Congress's reservation that provinces could opt out of groups.
- Wavell's Interim Government formed on 2 September 1946 under Nehru, with League initially absent; League joined 26 October 1946 with Liaquat Ali Khan as Finance Minister.

8.6.8 Direct Action Day -- 16 August 1946

After withdrawing acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, Jinnah called Direct Action Day. The Great Calcutta Killings (16–20 August 1946) saw 4,000-plus dead; communal violence spread to Noakhali (Bengal, October 1946), Bihar (October 1946), Garhmukteshwar (UP, November 1946). The political ground for partition was now firmly laid by violence.

8.6.9 Towards Partition -- 1947

- **Attlee's announcement (20 February 1947)** – British transfer of power by June 1948 at the latest.
- **Mountbatten Plan / 3 June Plan** – partition along communal lines; Bengal and Punjab to be partitioned; referendums in NWFP and Sylhet.
- **Indian Independence Act – 18 July 1947.**
- **15 August 1947** – Independence and Partition.

8.7 Two-Nation Theory -- Critical Reading

The doctrine that Hindus and Muslims were two separate “nations” had its roots in Sir Syed's late writings but was crystallised in Jinnah's Lahore 1940 address:

“The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and indeed they belong to two different civilisations.”

Critiques:

- Maulana Azad rejected it outright, citing centuries of composite culture, syncretic religious traditions and shared political experience.
- Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (“Frontier Gandhi”) opposed it from the Pashtun side.
- Bipan Chandra and modern scholarship argue it was the product of *specific class-political circumstances* (landlord-led League, Muslim middle-class anxiety about competition with Hindu middle class) rather than civilisational divergence.

- East Pakistan's secession to form Bangladesh in 1971 is often cited as the empirical refutation of the two-nation thesis.

8.8 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Tripura & Muslim Politics, 1906--1947

Princely Tripura had a small Muslim population (largely peasants of Bengali origin in the Comilla-Brahmanbaria-Sylhet belt and the Chakla Roshanabad zamindari). The Muslim League made limited inroads:

Manikya court's posture. The Manikya rulers were Vaishnava Hindu by religion but practised a tolerant administrative tradition. Muslim subjects of Tripura held high posts in the bureaucracy and military.

Sylhet referendum 1947. The most consequential Muslim-League-related event for Tripura was the Sylhet referendum (July 1947), in which the Sylhet district – which had been part of Assam under British India – voted to join East Pakistan. This severed Tripura's western land link to India and made it geographically isolated, surrounded on three sides by what became East Pakistan / Bangladesh.

Refugee influx after partition. The partition of Bengal and the Sylhet decision triggered the first wave of Hindu Bengali migration into Tripura – a demographic transformation that the Manikya court could not have anticipated. By 1951 census, the Bengali population had overtaken the indigenous tribal population.

This demographic shift is the deepest legacy of Muslim League politics for Tripura – a topic the TCS examiner expects an aspirant to acknowledge in any Tripura-merger question.

8.9 Important Facts

- AIML founded 30 December 1906 at Dacca by Nawab Salimullah.
- First President: Aga Khan III; first Secretary: Mohsin-ul-Mulk.
- Lucknow Pact: December 1916.
- Lahore Resolution: 23 March 1940.
- Direct Action Day: 16 August 1946.
- Sylhet Referendum: 6–7 July 1947.
- Mountbatten Plan (3 June Plan): 3 June 1947.
- Indian Independence Act: 18 July 1947.

8.10 PYQ Model Answer (2023, 5m) -- 1946--47 Movements towards Partition

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

The decisive eighteen months between mid-1946 and August 1947 saw four distinct movements producing partition.

Cabinet Mission Plan (May 1946): three-tier federation – accepted by both Congress and League before unravelling over the question of compulsory grouping.

Direct Action Day (16 August 1946): Jinnah's call produced the Great Calcutta Killings (4,000-plus dead), followed by Noakhali, Bihar and Garhmukteshwar riots. Communal violence pre-empted constitutional politics.

Interim Government (2 September 1946): Nehru's government with League joining on 26 October – a hostile coalition.

Attlee's Statement (20 February 1947), *Mountbatten Plan (3 June 1947)*, *Indian Independence Act (18 July 1947)*: formal partition along Radcliffe Line (announced 17 August). Sylhet referendum (6-7 July 1947) joined Sylhet to East Pakistan, isolating Tripura.

The transfer of power on 15 August 1947 created two dominions; the partition produced one of the largest mass migrations in human history.

8.11 Sample Questions

1. Trace the evolution of the Muslim League from 1906 to 1940. (10)
2. Discuss the role of the Lucknow Pact in Indian politics. (5)
3. "The Two-Nation Theory was a political construct, not a civilisational reality." Discuss. (10)
4. Examine the Cabinet Mission Plan and its failure. (10)
5. Analyse Jinnah's transition from "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" to founder of Pakistan. (10)

8.12 Quick Revision Sheet

CHAPTER 8 – MUSLIM LEAGUE POLITICS | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Foundation: AIML, Dacca, 30 Dec 1906; Nawab Salimullah founder; Aga Khan III first President.

Phases: 1906-13 Loyalist → 1913-24 Congress cooperation (Lucknow Pact 1916, Khilafat-NCM) → 1924-37 Communal drift (Delhi Proposals 1927, Nehru Report 1928, 14 Points 1929) → 1937-47 Towards Pakistan (Lahore Resolution 1940, Direct Action 1946, Partition 1947).

Key documents: Simla Deputation 1 Oct 1906 | Morley-Minto 1909 (separate electorates) | Lucknow Pact Dec 1916 | Nehru Report Aug 1928 | Jinnah's 14 Points Mar 1929 | Communal Award 16 Aug 1932 | GoI Act 1935 | Lahore Resolution 23 Mar 1940 | August Offer 8 Aug 1940 | Cripps Mission Mar-Apr 1942 | Cabinet Mission Plan May 1946 | Direct Action 16 Aug 1946 | Interim Govt 2 Sept 1946 | Attlee 20 Feb 1947 | Mountbatten 3 Jun 1947 | IIA 18 Jul 1947.

Two-Nation Theory: Jinnah, Lahore 1940; opposed by Azad, Ghaffar Khan; refuted empirically by Bangladesh 1971.

Tripura tag: Sylhet referendum 6-7 Jul 1947 → Tripura geographically isolated; mass Hindu refugee influx → demographic transformation → Manikya merger calculations.

WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 9 -- Working Class Movement.

Why This Chapter Matters

The working-class movement is a sleeper topic in TCS / TPS papers – MCQs have appeared (AITUC's first president, Lala Lajpat Rai, 2019) but no 10-mark question. The probability of a 5 or 10 mark question is now high.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019

- (2019, MCQ) Who was the first President of the All India Trade Union Congress? – Lala Lajpat Rai.
- **Latent ask:** "Trace the development of the working class movement in colonial India." (10m) – highly probable for the next cycle.

9.1 Conceptual Introduction

The growth of industry under British rule – jute mills in Bengal, cotton mills in Bombay, railways across the sub-continent, coal mines in Chotanagpur and Bihar, tea plantations in Assam and Bengal – created a modern industrial working class by the late 19th century. Their numbers were small (under 5% of the population by 1947) but their political weight in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad,

Madras and Kanpur was disproportionate.

9.2 Phase I -- Early Stirrings (1850--1918)

9.2.1 First Strikes

- 1862 – Howrah Railway Workers’ strike (against 10-hour day).
- 1877 – Empress Mills, Nagpur strike.
- 1880–90s – Bombay textile mill strikes.
- 1899 – Great Indian Peninsular Railway strike.
- 1908 – Bombay textile strike of one week to protest Tilak’s six-year sentence – the first overtly political strike, regarded by Lenin as evidence of the political maturation of the Indian working class.

9.2.2 Early Welfare Legislation

- Indian Factories Act 1881 – prohibited child labour below 7; limited working hours for children.
- Indian Factories Act 1891 – raised child-labour age to 9; women’s hours limited to 11.
- Mines Act 1901.

9.2.3 Early Welfare Associations

- **Sasipada Banerjee** (Bengal, 1870) – *Bharat Shramjeebi* association.
- **N. M. Lokhande** (Bombay, 1890) – *Bombay Mill Hands’ Association* – considered the first organised Indian labour union; its journal was *Dinabandhu*.
- **Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee, B. P. Wadia** (Madras Labour Union, 1918) – the first proper trade union in modern form.

9.3 Phase II -- Organised Labour (1918--1934)

9.3.1 All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) -- 31 October 1920

The AITUC was the first central trade-union federation, formed under the influence of the Russian Revolution, the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation movement, and the I.L.O.’s creation in 1919.

Founding:

- Founded 31 October 1920 at Bombay.

- First President: **Lala Lajpat Rai** (2019 PYQ MCQ).
- Vice-Presidents: Joseph Baptista, V.J. Patel.
- General Secretary: Diwan Chaman Lall.
- Treasurer: Joseph Baptista.
- N.M. Joshi was its long-serving organisational backbone.

9.3.2 Major Strikes 1920--29

- 1920 – Tatas, Jamshedpur.
- 1923 – Bombay mill strike (six weeks).
- 1924 – Buckingham and Carnatic Mills strike, Madras.
- 1928 – Bombay textile strike (six months, 1 lakh 50 thousand workers).
- 1928 – Tata Iron & Steel, Jamshedpur (eight months).
- 1928 – South Indian Railway strike.

9.3.3 Trade Disputes Act & Public Safety Bill (1929)

The Bhagat Singh / Batukeshwar Dutt assembly bomb (8 April 1929) was timed to coincide with the introduction of the Trade Disputes Bill and Public Safety Bill – both directed against organised labour and communist activity.

9.3.4 Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929--33)

31 communist and trade-union leaders – Muzaffar Ahmad, S. A. Dange, Philip Spratt, Benjamin Bradley, S. V. Ghate, S. S. Mirajkar – arrested on charges of conspiring to deprive the King of his sovereignty over India. Trial lasted four years; convictions appealed and partly overturned in 1933. The trial publicity made the communists national figures.

9.3.5 Splits and Mergers in AITUC

- 1929 – Moderates split off to form All India Trade Union Federation (AITUF) under N. M. Joshi.
- 1929–31 – Communist-dominated AITUC under S. A. Dange.
- 1935 – Reunification at AITUC's Nagpur session.
- 1947 – INTUC formed by Congress; HMS formed by socialists 1948.

9.4 Phase III -- War and Independence (1939--1947)

9.4.1 Royal Indian Navy Mutiny -- 18--23 February 1946

Treated in detail in Chapter 11 (Bose / RIN). In short: ratings of HMIS Talwar at Bombay mutinied over service grievances; spread to 78 ships and 20 shore establishments; 20,000 ratings struck; massive sympathetic workers' strikes in Bombay (3 lakh out on 22 February). Surrender on 23 February under Sardar Patel and Jinnah's combined advice.

9.4.2 Post-War Labour Unrest (1945--1947)

Strikes erupted across India – Bombay textile mills, Calcutta jute mills, railways, postal workers. The wave was driven by wartime inflation, demobilisation and political expectation. The first elected Congress provincial governments (1946 onward) faced strikes within months of taking office – a foretaste of the labour question that would shadow Indian planning.

9.4.3 Trade Union Federations after 1947

- INTUC (1947) – Congress.
- HMS (1948) – socialists.
- UTUC (1949) – RSP.
- BMS (1955) – Jana Sangh / RSS.
- CITU (1970) – CPI(M).

9.5 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Labour in Princely Tripura

Tripura had only a small industrial sector under the Manikya kings – a handful of state-run units, brick kilns, sawmills, and the early state-railway works. There was therefore no significant “working class” in the Bombay or Calcutta sense.

Tea plantation labour. The Tripura tea estates (mostly developed under Birendra Kishore and Bir Bikram in the 1920s-30s) employed Adivasi labour from Chotanagpur (Munda, Oraon, Santhal) under indentured-style contracts. Their labour conditions were comparable to Assam tea-garden workers.

Post-1949 industrial labour. Tripura's modern small-scale and agro-based industries emerged only after merger with India. The state's first registered trade union was formed in the 1950s.

Bamboo labour. The bamboo and cane workers, dispersed and household-

based, fell outside the trade-union framework but constituted Tripura's most numerically important non-agricultural workforce. The 2023 PYQ on bamboo's contribution to Tripura's economy and culture has direct labour-economy implications.

Janashiksha Samiti, the literacy-cum-agrarian movement of 1945 onwards, conducted the political education that linked Tripura's agrarian workforce to wider national-democratic and left-democratic politics.

9.6 Important Facts & Quotations

First-of-its-kind:

- First organised Indian labour union: Bombay Mill Hands' Association (1890), N. M. Lokhande.
- First modern trade union: Madras Labour Union (1918), B. P. Wadia.
- First central federation: AITUC, 31 October 1920, Bombay; Lala Lajpat Rai first President.
- First political strike: Bombay textile, 1908 (against Tilak's sentence).
- First major mutiny in armed forces: RIN, 18 February 1946.

9.7 Sample Questions & Model Answer

1. Trace the evolution of the Indian working-class movement up to 1947. (10)
2. Discuss the contribution of the AITUC to Indian nationalism. (10)
3. Examine the Meerut Conspiracy Case and its impact on Indian labour politics. (5)
4. Compare the working-class movement with the peasant movement in colonial India. (10)
5. Analyse the political significance of the Bombay strike of 1908. (5)

Model Answer -- Evolution of the Working-Class Movement (10m)

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

The Indian working-class movement evolved in three phases corresponding to the industrial, political and ideological development of the colonial economy.

Phase I – Early Stirrings (1850-1918). The first strikes – Howrah 1862, Empress Mills Nagpur 1877, GIP Railway 1899 – were spontaneous reactions to long hours and wage cuts. The first welfare law was the Factories Act 1881; the first welfare association, Lokhande's Bombay Mill Hands' Association (1890). The Bombay textile strike of 1908 against Tilak's six-year sentence is widely regarded as the first politically conscious strike – Lenin himself cited it as evidence of Indian labour's maturity. The Madras Labour Union (1918, B. P. Wadia) was the first modern trade union.

Phase II – Organised Labour (1918-34). The post-WWI environment – Russian Revolution, ILO, Khilafat-NCM agitation – produced the AITUC (31 October 1920, Lala Lajpat Rai first president). Major strikes through the 1920s (Bombay 1923 and 1928, TISCO Jamshedpur 1928) demonstrated the political weight of organised labour. The communist link grew through the 1920s and was the target of the Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929-33). The Public Safety Bill and Trade Disputes Act (1929) attempted to curb communist trade-unionism – the same legislation against which Bhagat Singh's Assembly bomb was thrown.

Phase III – War and Independence (1939-47). World War II's industrial mobilisation expanded the working class; wartime inflation produced post-war labour unrest. The RIN Mutiny (18-23 February 1946) was the most dramatic moment, accompanied by general strikes in Bombay. The post-1947 architecture of multiple federations – INTUC (1947), HMS (1948), CITU (1970) – consolidated trade-unionism along ideological lines.

Conclusion. The working-class movement was numerically modest but politically decisive; its strikes accelerated political concessions and supplied the freedom struggle with a fresh idiom of class solidarity.

9.8 Quick Revision Sheet

CHAPTER 9 – WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Three Phases: 1850-1918 (early stirrings) | 1918-34 (organised labour, AITUC, Meerut) | 1939-47 (war, RIN, federations).

First strikes: Howrah 1862; Empress Nagpur 1877; GIP Railway 1899; Bombay textile (political) 1908.

Early associations: Bharat Shramjeebi (Sasipada Banerjee, 1870); Bombay Mill Hands' Assoc. (Lokhande, 1890); Madras Labour Union (B. P. Wadia, 1918).

AITUC: 31 Oct 1920, Bombay; **Lala Lajpat Rai first President;** Diwan Chaman Lall GS; N. M. Joshi backbone.

Major strikes 1920s: Bombay 1923, 1928; Buckingham-Carnatic Madras 1924; TISCO Jamshedpur 1928; South Indian Railway 1928.

Meerut Conspiracy Case: 1929-33; 31 accused; communists became national figures.

Public Safety Bill / Trade Disputes Act 1929: target of Bhagat Singh's Assembly bomb.

RIN Mutiny: 18-23 Feb 1946; 78 ships, 20,000 ratings; mass workers' solidarity strikes in Bombay.

Federations: INTUC 1947 (Congress) | HMS 1948 (Soc.) | UTUC 1949 (RSP) | BMS 1955 (RSS) | CITU 1970 (CPM).

Tripura tag: Tea plantation labour from Chotanagpur Adivasis; bamboo workforce; Janashiksha Samiti's role in agrarian education.

WOMEN IN THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 10 -- Women in National Movement.

Why This Chapter Matters

Women's participation in the national movement has been a recurrent topic – MCQs on Sarojini Naidu (2019, 2023), Annie Besant, Madame Cama, Rani Jhansi Regiment (2019, 2023). The 2023 paper carried a 5-mark question on the Rani of Jhansi Regiment of the INA. The 2019 paper MCQ on the woman who led a delegation to Montagu to demand female franchise (Sarojini Naidu) demonstrates the examiner's habitual MCQ design here.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021, 2023

- (2019, MCQ) Who led the Rani of Jhansi regiment of the INA? – Lakshmi Sehgal.
- (2019, MCQ) Delegation to Montagu for female franchise – Sarojini Naidu.
- (2021, MCQ) First Woman President of INC – Sarojini Naidu (intended; though Besant was first foreigner).
- (2023, 5m) Write a short note on Rani Jhansi Regiment of Azad Hind Fauj.
- (2023, MCQ) First Woman President of the Indian National Congress.

10.1 Conceptual Introduction

The history of women in the Indian national movement is not the history of a passive supporting cast but of a parallel and partly autonomous political agency. Three streams intertwined: the *reform stream* (against sati, child marriage, for widow remarriage and women's education), the *Congress mass-movement stream* (Khilafat, NCM, CDM, Quit India), and the *revolutionary stream* (Madame Cama, Pritilata Waddadar, Lakshmi Sehgal). Each produced its own leaders and its own questions.

10.2 Phase I -- The Reform Era (1820--1900)

10.2.1 The Long Catalogue of Reform Legislation

- **Sati Abolition Act 1829** – Bentinck; Ram Mohan Roy.
- **Hindu Widow Remarriage Act 1856** – Lord Canning; Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar.
- **Native Marriage Act / Special Marriage Act 1872** – inter-caste, inter-religion marriage.
- **Age of Consent Act 1891** – raised the age of consent for sexual intercourse from 10 to 12; Bal Gangadhar Tilak opposed (2023 PYQ MCQ).
- **Sarda Act 1929 (Child Marriage Restraint Act)** – raised marriage age to 14 for girls, 18 for boys.

10.2.2 Reformist Pioneers

- **Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833)** – abolition of sati, Brahmo Samaj.
- **Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820–1891)** – widow remarriage; promoted girls' education.
- **Jyotirao & Savitribai Phule** – first girls' school in Pune (1848); first school for untouchable girls (1851).
- **Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922)** – founded Arya Mahila Samaj (1882); Sharada Sadan (1889) for widows; Mukti Mission (1898).
- **Tarabai Shinde (1850–1910)** – *Stree Purush Tulana* (1882), a sharp Marathi feminist tract.
- **Behramji Malabari** – campaigned for the Age of Consent Act 1891.
- **Annie Besant (1847–1933)** – Theosophist; founded Central Hindu College (1898); first foreign-born President of INC (1917).

10.2.3 Early Women's Organisations

- **Bharat Stree Mahamandal** (1910) – Sarala Devi Chaudhurani; first national women's organisation, with branches in Bengal, Punjab, UP.
- **Women's Indian Association (WIA)** (1917) – Annie Besant, Margaret Cousins, Dorothy Jinarajadasa.
- **National Council of Women in India** (1925) – Mehribai Tata, Cornelia Sorabji.
- **All India Women's Conference (AIWC)** (1927) – Margaret Cousins; conventions on education, child marriage, purdah. Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur led at various points.

10.3 Phase II -- The Mass-Movement Era (1905--1947)

10.3.1 Partition of Bengal & Swadeshi (1905--08)

Women joined the Swadeshi agitation in small numbers but symbolically – the Rakhi Bandhan ceremony (16 October 1905) gave a powerful image of fraternal unity; women's processions in Calcutta; bonfires of foreign cloth.

10.3.2 Home Rule Movement (1916--18) -- Annie Besant

Annie Besant (1847–1933) founded the All India Home Rule League in Madras (September 1916). With Tilak's League (Pune, April 1916), the Home Rule movement reached unprecedented mass. Besant was interned (1917) – and on her release, elected the first woman President of the INC at the Calcutta Session (December 1917).

Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949) led the delegation to Montagu seeking women's franchise in 1917 (2019 PYQ MCQ); Madras was the first to extend the vote to women, in 1921.

10.3.3 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920--22)

- **Kasturba Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu, Annie Besant, Basanti Devi** (wife of C. R. Das), **Urmila Devi, Suniti Devi, Kamala Nehru** led the picketing of liquor and foreign-cloth shops.
- Hindu and Muslim women's joint Khilafat-NCM activities in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Lahore.
- Basanti Devi was among the first women political prisoners (1921).

10.3.4 Civil Disobedience Movement (1930--34)

- **Sarojini Naidu** led the salt satyagraha at Dharasana (21 May 1930) after Gandhi's arrest – the famous scene reported by Webb Miller.
- **Kasturba Gandhi, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Hansa Mehta, Avantibai Gokhale** – salt manufacture; picketing.
- **Aruna Asaf Ali** – imprisoned for a year; later led Quit India.
- **Lado Rani Zutshi, Sucheta Kripalani, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur** active across north India.
- **Matangini Hazra** (Bengal) – shot dead at Tamluk procession on 29 September 1942, aged 72; the iconic "*Gandhi-buri*".

10.3.5 Quit India Movement (1942)

- **Aruna Asaf Ali** – unfurled the Congress flag at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, on 9 August 1942 after the arrests; led the underground movement.
- **Usha Mehta** – ran the Congress Radio (*Azad Radio*) from underground until her arrest in November 1942.
- **Sucheta Kripalani** – led the underground in UP.
- **Matangini Hazra, Kanaklata Barua** (Assam) – killed in the movement.
- Women in parallel governments at Tamluk, Satara, Ballia.

10.4 Phase III -- The Revolutionary Stream

10.4.1 Madame Cama (1861--1936)

- Born Bhikaiji Sorabji Patel in a Parsi family.
- Unfurled the Indian tricolour at the International Socialist Conference at Stuttgart on 22 August 1907.
- Published *Bande Mataram* (Geneva) and *Madan's Talwar* (Paris).
- Honorary President of the Indian Revolutionary Society.

10.4.2 Revolutionaries of Bengal

- **Pritilata Waddedar (1911–32)** – led the Pahartali European Club raid on 23 September 1932; took cyanide rather than be captured. The first woman martyr of the revolutionary tradition.
- **Kalpana Datta** – member of Surya Sen's Chittagong group; sentenced to transportation for life; released 1939.
- **Bina Das** – shot at Governor Stanley Jackson at the Calcutta University convo-

cation in February 1932; transportation for life.

- **Suniti Choudhury, Shanti Ghosh** – killed District Magistrate Stevens of Comilla on 14 December 1931, aged 14 and 15 respectively.

10.4.3 INA & the Rani of Jhansi Regiment (2019, 2023 PYQs)

- Formed in Singapore in July 1943 within the Indian National Army.
- Commanded by **Captain (later Colonel) Lakshmi Sehgal** (Lakshmi Swaminathan).
- Drawn from Indian women of the diaspora – Malayan, Burmese, Singaporean Indian communities.
- Strength of approximately 1,500 women.
- First and only all-women combat regiment in 20th-century Asian armies.
- Saw action on the Burma front (1944–45).
- Disbanded with the INA in 1945; many members returned to India and continued in politics.

10.5 Women in Constitution-Making and Post-Independence

10.5.1 Women in the Constituent Assembly

Fifteen women members: Sarojini Naidu, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Hansa Mehta, Sucheta Kripalani, Annie Mascarene, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Ammu Swaminathan, Durgabai Deshmukh, Renuka Ray, Purnima Banerjee, Dakshayani Velayudhan (the only Dalit woman; only Dalit woman MP from Madras), Kamala Chaudhry, Leela Roy, Malati Choudhury.

10.5.2 Constitutional Guarantees

- Article 14 – equality before law.
- Article 15 – prohibition of discrimination on grounds including sex.
- Article 15(3) – special provisions for women.
- Article 16 – equality of opportunity in public employment.
- Article 39(a), (d) – equal right to means of livelihood; equal pay.
- Article 42 – maternity relief.

10.6 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Women in Tripura

The Manikya state was known across the region for the unusual prominence of women in its political life:

Maharani Kanchanprabha Devi. The widow of Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya, she served as Regent of Tripura after his death in 1947 (her son Kirit Bikram was a minor). She presided over the merger negotiations of 1948-49 and was a signatory to the Tripura Merger Agreement (9 September 1949). Her role in the merger is a focused topic for any 10-mark Tripura question.

Maharani Tulsibati. The senior queen of Maharaja Birchandra Manikya, she was active in court patronage and contributed to the religious-cultural life of the state.

Tribal women's traditions. Indigenous Tripuri, Reang, Jamatia and Chakma communities had relatively egalitarian gender norms in agricultural and weaving labour. The *rignai-risa* weaving tradition was sustained by women.

Janashiksha Samiti. The literacy and reform movement that began in 1945 had significant women's participation, including in the Kokborok-speaking villages.

Post-merger: Tripura's first State Assembly (1952) had several women members; the state would later send women MPs and ministers to Delhi.

10.7 Mains Enrichment Points**VALUE ADDITION****Quotations:**

- *"Even on the field of Plassey, with the muskets blazing, the women of India were not absent."* – a paraphrase often used.
- *"Cease to be a coddled and pampered ornament; arise as a builder of nations."* – Sarojini Naidu.
- *"Without women, no nation can be free."* – Subhas Chandra Bose, on the founding of the Rani Jhansi Regiment.

10.8 PYQ Model Answer (2023, 5m) -- Rani Jhansi Regiment

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

The Rani of Jhansi Regiment was the all-women combat unit of the Azad Hind Fauj raised by Subhas Chandra Bose in July 1943 at Singapore.

Origin: Bose declared at the founding rally that “without women, no nation can be free”; volunteers were drawn from the Indian diaspora in Singapore, Malaya, Burma and Thailand.

Command: Captain (later Colonel) Lakshmi Swaminathan (Lakshmi Sehgal), a Madras-born doctor practising in Singapore.

Strength: approximately 1,500 women; named after the 1857 heroine Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi.

Service: the Regiment was trained for combat; saw action on the Burma front (1944-45) during the Imphal-Kohima campaign.

Significance: the only all-women combat regiment in twentieth-century Asia at that time; an enduring symbol of women’s political and military agency; its members returned to India after 1945 and several – Lakshmi Sehgal most prominently – continued in left politics.

Legacy: Lakshmi Sehgal was the Left Front’s candidate for President of India in 2002.

10.9 Sample & Practice Questions

1. Discuss the role of women in the Civil Disobedience Movement. (10)
2. Evaluate the contribution of Annie Besant to Indian politics. (5)
3. “The Quit India movement was the women’s movement.” Discuss. (10)
4. Trace the participation of women in the revolutionary tradition. (10)
5. Examine the role of women in the Constituent Assembly. (5)
6. Analyse the contribution of Maharani Kanchanprabha Devi to the integration of Tripura with India. (5)

10.10 Quick Revision Sheet

QUICK REVISION SHEET

CHAPTER 10 – WOMEN IN THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Reform laws: Sati 1829 | Widow Remarriage 1856 | Native Marriage 1872 | Age of Consent 1891 | Sarda 1929.

Early reformers: Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Phules, Pandita Ramabai, Tarabai Shinde, Behramji Malabari, Annie Besant.

Early organisations: Bharat Stree Mahamandal 1910 (Sarala Devi) | WIA 1917 (Besant) | AIWC 1927 (Margaret Cousins).

Mass movements: - *Home Rule*: Besant first woman INC President 1917 (Calcutta). - *NCM*: Kasturba, Sarojini, Basanti Devi, Suniti Devi, Kamala Nehru. - *CDM*: Sarojini at Dharasana 1930; Aruna Asaf Ali; Hansa Mehta; Matangini Hazra (martyred 29 Sep 1942). - *Quit India*: Aruna at Gowalia Tank 9 Aug 1942; Usha Mehta's Congress Radio; Sucheta Kripalani UP.

Revolutionaries: Madame Cama (Stuttgart 1907) | Pritilata Waddedar (Pahartali 1932) | Kalpana Datta | Bina Das | Suniti Choudhury, Shanti Ghosh (Comilla 1931).

INA Rani Jhansi Regt: July 1943, Singapore; Capt. Lakshmi Sehgal; ~1,500 women; Burma front 1944-45.

Constituent Assembly: 15 women incl. Sarojini Naidu, Hansa Mehta, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Sucheta Kripalani, Dakshayani Velayudhan (only Dalit woman).

Sarojini Naidu firsts: Led Montagu delegation 1917; first Indian woman INC Pres. 1925 (Kanpur); first woman Governor (UP, 1947).

Tripura tag: Maharani Kanchanprabha (Regent 1947-49; Merger Agreement 9 Sep 1949); Maharani Tulsibati; Janashiksha women's participation; rignairisa weaving.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE, INA, RIN MUTINY, TEBHAGA & TELANGANA

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 11 -- Role of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in National Movement; RIN Mutiny, Tebhaga and Telangana Uprisings.

Why This Chapter Matters

Among the most consistently asked topics of Section A. Bose appears in every paper – 2019 (5m), 2023 (10m); RIN Mutiny 10m in 2019; Telangana 10m in 2019; Tebhaga 5m in 2021. Aspirants who master this chapter usually clear Section A.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021, 2023

- (2019, 5m) Briefly analyse Subhas Chandra Bose's contribution to the National Movement of India.
- (2019, 10m) What led to the naval mutiny (1946)? Discuss the reaction of various political parties. (5+5)
- (2019, 10m) Telangana – circumstances + significance (5+5).
- (2021, 5m) Tebhaga – views of different political parties.

- (2023, 10m) Write a short note on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the INA's role in India's freedom movement.

11.1 Subhas Chandra Bose -- The National Years (1921--1939)

11.1.1 Early Life

- Born 23 January 1897 at Cuttack, Orissa.
- Educated at Presidency College, Calcutta; Scottish Church College; Cambridge (matriculated 1919).
- Cleared the ICS examination in 1920 (fourth rank).
- Resigned from the ICS in April 1921 to join the national movement – a famous act of renunciation.

11.1.2 Apprenticeship Under C. R. Das

Bose returned to Calcutta and joined Chittaranjan Das's Swarajya Party. He served as Mayor of Calcutta (1924–27) under Das's mayoralty. Imprisoned in Mandalay (1925–27) for alleged revolutionary contacts.

11.1.3 Rise in the Congress (1927--1938)

- General Secretary of Congress in 1928 (Calcutta Session).
- Founded the Independence for India League (1928) with Jawaharlal Nehru – pushed Congress towards Purna Swaraj.
- Imprisoned for participation in Civil Disobedience (1930–31, 1932–33).
- Exiled to Europe (1933–36); wrote *The Indian Struggle* (1935).
- Returned to India 1936; elected President of the Congress at **Haripura (Gujarat)**, February 1938.

11.1.4 Haripura and Tripuri -- the Conflict with Gandhi

- Haripura 1938 – Bose's first presidential term; advocated planned industrialisation, a National Planning Committee (chaired by Nehru), socialist re-organisation.
- **Tripuri Session, March 1939** – Bose contested for re-election against Gandhi's candidate **Pattabhi Sitaramayya**. Bose won by 1,580 to 1,377 votes – a defeat which Gandhi famously took personally ("Pattabhi's defeat is more mine than his").

- After Tripuri, the Pant Resolution demanded Bose form a Working Committee acceptable to Gandhi – effectively a vote of no-confidence.
- Bose resigned from the Congress presidency, April 1939.
- Founded the **Forward Bloc** within the Congress on 3 MAY 1939.

11.2 The Great Escape and Berlin Phase (1941--1943)

11.2.1 Internment and Escape (1940--41)

- July 1940 – Bose arrested for protesting the removal of the Holwell Monument; started fast in jail; placed under house arrest at 38/2 Elgin Road, Calcutta.
- 17 JANUARY 1941 – Bose escaped from Calcutta, travelling in disguise as “Maulvi Ziauddin” through Peshawar and the North-West Frontier to Kabul, and from there to Moscow and Berlin via Italy.
- Arrived in Berlin on 28 March 1941.

11.2.2 Bose in Berlin

- Met Hitler on 27 May 1942 (his only meeting).
- Established the **Free India Centre** (Azad Hind Kendra) in Berlin (November 1941) and the **Azad Hind Radio**.
- Raised the **Indian Legion** (Indische Legion / Legion Freies Indien / Indisches Infanterie Regiment 950) from Indian prisoners of war captured by the Axis in North Africa – around 3,000 strong.
- Adopted the title “**Netaji**” (“The Leader”) in Berlin.
- Sang “Subh sukh chain ki barkha barse” – the Hindustani version of Tagore’s *Jana Gana Mana* – as the anthem of his Free India movement.

11.3 The Submarine Voyage and Asian Phase (1943--1945)

11.3.1 From Kiel to Sumatra

On 8 FEBRUARY 1943 Bose left Kiel aboard the German submarine U-180; transferred to the Japanese submarine I-29 off Madagascar on 28 April 1943; reached Sabang in Sumatra on 6 May 1943; flew to Tokyo, where he met Prime Minister Tojo on 13 June 1943.

11.3.2 Taking Charge of the INA

The Indian National Army had been founded under **Mohan Singh** (an officer of the 1/14 Punjab Regiment) at Singapore in February 1942, with Rashbehari Bose (the 1912 Delhi-bomb revolutionary, then resident in Tokyo) as its political head. Rashbehari handed over leadership to Subhas Bose on 4 July 1943 at Singapore.

Subhas Bose:

- Took charge of the INA – approximately 60,000 troops drawn from the Indian PoWs and the Malayan-Singaporean Indian diaspora.
- Proclaimed the **Provisional Government of Free India** (Azad Hind Sarkar) at Singapore on **21 OCTOBER 1943**. He was head of state, prime minister, war minister and foreign minister; the government was recognised by nine Axis-aligned states.
- Established his headquarters first at Singapore, then Rangoon.
- Raised the **Rani of Jhansi Regiment** (July 1943), the all-women combat unit under Captain Lakshmi Swaminathan (Sehgal).
- Renamed the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as “**Shaheed and Swaraj**” after the Japanese occupation transferred them to the Azad Hind Sarkar (December 1943) (2021 PYQ MCQ).
- Slogans: “**Dilli Chalo**” and “**Jai Hind**”.
- Iconic call: “**Tum mujhe khoon do, main tumhe azadi dunga**” (Give me blood, and I shall give you freedom) – delivered at Singapore, 4 July 1944.

11.3.3 The INA's Military Campaigns

- INA units crossed into India in March 1944.
- Hoisted the tricolour at **Moirang**, Manipur, on **14 APRIL 1944**.
- Fought in the Imphal-Kohima battles (March–July 1944) alongside the Japanese 15th Army.
- Imphal-Kohima saw 60,000+ Japanese casualties; INA suffered heavy losses. The retreat from Imphal in July 1944 was the turning point.
- Continued resistance until the Japanese surrender in August 1945.

11.3.4 Death of Bose (18 August 1945)

According to official Japanese records, Bose was killed in an air crash at Taihoku (Taipei) on 18 August 1945; his ashes were interred at the Renkoji Temple, Tokyo. Multiple commissions (Shah Nawaz Khan 1956; Khosla 1970; Mukherjee 2005) have examined the evidence; the Mukherjee Commission held the crash story not proven, but no alternative has been conclusively established.

11.4 The INA Trials -- Red Fort, November 1945

11.4.1 The Trial

Three INA officers – **Shah Nawaz Khan** (Muslim), **Prem Sehgal** (Hindu), and **Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon** (Sikh) – were charged at the Red Fort with “waging war against the King”. Defence by Bhulabhai Desai, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Jawaharlal Nehru (donning his lawyer’s robes after 30 years), Asaf Ali, K. N. Katju.

11.4.2 Political Reaction

- INA Defence Committee set up by the Congress.
- “**Lal Qila se aayi awaaz, Sehgal, Dhillon, Shah Nawaz**” – a slogan that swept north India.
- Communal harmony of the three defendants – Hindu, Muslim, Sikh – became its own message.
- Demonstrations on 11 November 1945 (Calcutta), 21 November 1945 (Calcutta) and 11 February 1946 (across India) turned into mass anti-British actions.
- Convicted of waging war (December 1945) but sentence commuted; all three released.

11.5 The Royal Indian Navy Mutiny -- 18--23 February 1946

11.5.1 Trigger

On the morning of **18 FEBRUARY 1946**, the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy signal-training ship *HMIS Talwar* at Bombay went on strike. Immediate grievances:

- Poor quality of food.
- Racial abuse by British officers (e.g. Commander King’s insults).
- Slow demobilisation.
- Inadequate pay relative to British counterparts.
- Inspired by the INA trials.

11.5.2 Spread

- Within 48 hours: 78 ships and 20 shore establishments under mutineer control.
- Approximately 20,000 ratings on strike.
- Spread to Karachi, Madras, Cochin, Vishakhapatnam, Andaman, Bahrain.
- Mutineers raised the Congress, League and Red flags on their masts together –

a powerful symbol of unity.

- Strike Committee under **M. S. Khan** (Muslim) as President and **Madan Singh** (Hindu) as Vice-President.

11.5.3 Solidarity Strikes

- Bombay textile mill workers went on a massive solidarity strike on 22 February; nearly 3 lakh workers on the streets.
- Railway workers, postal workers struck.
- 220 killed and 1,000+ injured in the city in three days of British firing.
- Sympathetic action in Calcutta, Karachi, Madras.

11.5.4 Surrender

On 23 FEBRUARY 1946 the mutineers surrendered on the advice of:

- **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel** (for Congress)
- **M. A. Jinnah** (for Muslim League)
- Aruna Asaf Ali, on the other hand, urged the mutineers to continue.
- Gandhi was critical of the mutiny as “a bad and unbecoming example”.

11.5.5 Reactions of the Political Parties (2019 PYQ ask)

Party	Position on the RIN Mutiny
INC	Patel and Nehru opposed; called for surrender to safeguard “national interests”. Aruna Asaf Ali (a Congress Socialist) supported.
Muslim League	Jinnah advised surrender; sought to demonstrate the League’s stake in the post-1946 settlement.
Communist Party	Whole-hearted support; called the general strike of 22 February; ratings raised the Red Flag along with Congress and League flags.
Hindu Mahasabha	Limited support.
Forward Bloc, RSP, CSP	Active support; Aruna Asaf Ali and Achyut Patwardhan led solidarity efforts.

11.5.6 Significance

- Final demonstration that the British could no longer rely on the armed forces of India.
- Forced the Attlee government's hand; the Cabinet Mission decision (March 1946) followed within weeks.
- Last major Hindu-Muslim political unity before partition.

11.6 The Tebhaga and Telangana Movements

A detailed treatment of both has been given in **Chapter 6** (Left-Wing Politics). For exam-recall, the summary points relevant to a Bose-INA-RIN cluster question are:

11.6.1 Tebhaga (1946--47, Bengal)

- CPI-led, demanding two-thirds (*tebhaga*) of the harvest for share-cropper bargadars instead of the customary half.
- Centred in Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Mymensingh, Midnapore, 24 Parganas.
- Muslim League's provincial Bengal government passed the Bargadars Bill (March 1947) – never enacted because of partition.
- Collapsed mid-1947 under the pressure of partition and communal violence.
- Legacy: Operation Barga 1978 in West Bengal.

11.6.2 Telangana (1946--51, Hyderabad)

- Andhra Mahasabha / CPI-led armed peasant struggle in Telugu-speaking districts of the Nizam's state.
- Trigger: murder of Doddi Komarayya, July 1946.
- At peak: 3,000 villages, 16,000 sq km, 10,000 armed guerrillas; 10 lakh acres redistributed; *vetti* abolished.
- Operation Polo (September 1948) – Indian Army action against the Nizam; subsequent action against the communists.
- CPI called off struggle October 1951.
- Significance: largest armed peasant struggle of modern Indian history; political memory drove the 2014 Telangana statehood.

11.7 Tripura Perspective

TRIPURA SPECIAL | Tripura, Bose, INA & the War Effort

Bose and Tripura. Subhas Chandra Bose's relationship with the Manikya court was warm but politically calibrated. Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya (1923–1947) extended hospitality to Bose on his Indian travels; tradition holds that Bose stayed briefly at the Pushpabanta Palace, Agartala.

Manipur frontier. The INA's most celebrated military action was on the Manipur-Tripura frontier. Moirang – where Colonel Shaukat Malik raised the INA tricolour on 14 April 1944 – lies just east of Tripura, and the Imphal-Kohima campaign was fought along supply lines that ran past Tripura's eastern border.

World War II contribution (2023 PYQ ask). The 5-mark 2023 question asked Tripura's contribution to WWI (1914-18) and WWII (1939-45). Salient facts:

- Manikya state contributed to the British war loan (1914-18 and 1939-45) generously.
- Soldiers from Tripura served in both wars; some in the Burma campaign of 1942-45.
- Bir Bikram Manikya was awarded the Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire (KCIE) in 1934 partly for these contributions.
- Tripura hosted British and American forces along the Burma front in 1942-45; Agartala airfield (now AAI) was used as an Allied logistic base.
- Refugees from Burma (Burmese Indians, Anglo-Burmese) passed through Tripura in 1942.

Reang Uprising 1942–43. Concurrent with Quit India and adjacent to the INA's advance, the Reang uprising under Ratan Mani Reang protested forced labour (*huzur dakka*) and taxation – another autonomous strand in the wider anti-colonial agitation of the period (detailed in Chapter 15).

11.8 PYQ Model Answers

PYQ 2019 (5m) -- Bose's Contribution to the National Movement

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

Subhas Chandra Bose contributed to the Indian freedom struggle along three lines.

Inside the Congress (1921-39): He resigned from the ICS (1921); served as Calcutta Mayor (1924-27); helped push Congress towards Purna Swaraj in 1929; was elected President at Haripura (1938) and Tripuri (1939), the only Congress President to challenge Gandhi's hold over the party. His Forward Bloc (3 May 1939) gave the Indian left a distinct platform.

Abroad (1941-43): His escape from Calcutta in January 1941, his Berlin years, the founding of the Indian Legion and Azad Hind Radio, his submarine voyage to Asia (February-May 1943) – combined into the most spectacular act of single-handed political escalation in the modern Indian movement.

INA & Azad Hind (1943-45): Took over the INA; proclaimed the Provisional Government of Free India (21 October 1943); led 60,000 troops, hoisted the tricolour at Moirang (14 April 1944) and almost broke into India. His martyrdom turned the freedom movement irretrievably radical.

PYQ 2019 (10m) -- RIN Mutiny: Causes & Political Reactions (5+5)

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

What led to the RIN Mutiny (5 marks). On 18 February 1946 the ratings of HMIS Talwar at Bombay struck work and within 48 hours 78 ships, 20 shore establishments and 20,000 ratings were in mutiny. The causes were both immediate and political.

Immediate grievances: poor food, racial insults by British officers (notably Commander King), slow demobilisation, and inadequate pay relative to British counterparts.

Political background: the INA trials at the Red Fort (November 1945) had electrified the country; the success of nationalist defence in the trial generated an atmosphere in which armed-forces personnel began openly to claim a political role. The Bombay textile strike of 22 February (3 lakh workers) demonstrated the mass solidarity of the working class with the mutineers.

Reactions of the political parties (5 marks).

Communist Party of India fully supported; led the general strike of 22 February; the ratings flew the Red Flag along with Congress and League flags.

Indian National Congress – Patel and Nehru opposed the mutiny and advised surrender, fearing that the radicalisation of the armed forces would slip out of Congress hands. Aruna Asaf Ali, on the contrary, supported.

Muslim League – Jinnah advised surrender, partly to demonstrate the League's stake in the post-1946 constitutional architecture.

Forward Bloc, RSP, CSP actively supported. *Gandhi* described the mutiny as "a bad and unbecoming example" of violence.

The mutineers surrendered on 23 February 1946. The mutiny was the final demonstration that the British could no longer rely on Indian armed forces. The Cabinet Mission was announced within weeks. The RIN Mutiny was also the last major Hindu-Muslim political unity before partition.

PYQ 2023 (10m) -- Bose and the INA's Role

MODEL ANSWER | 280 words

Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army played a transformative role in the climax of the freedom struggle.

Bose's role. After his resignation from Congress presidency (1939) and his Forward Bloc, Bose escaped from house-arrest in Calcutta in January 1941. From Berlin he raised the Indian Legion and broadcast on Azad Hind Radio. His submarine voyage (February-May 1943) brought him to Singapore, where on 4 July 1943 Rashbehari Bose handed him the INA.

The INA. Founded under Mohan Singh in February 1942 from Indian PoWs of the Japanese, the INA expanded to 60,000 troops under Bose. Bose proclaimed the Provisional Government of Free India on 21 October 1943, raised the Rani of Jhansi Regiment in July 1943 (under Lakshmi Sehgal), renamed the Andamans as "Shaheed and Swaraj", and led the INA across the Indo-Burma frontier in 1944. The tricolour was hoisted at Moirang, Manipur, on 14 April 1944. The Imphal-Kohima campaign of 1944 was the only point at which an Indian army on Indian soil challenged the British militarily in the 20th century.

Significance. *First*, the INA shattered the myth that the Indian sepoy could be relied on by the empire. *Second*, the INA trials of November 1945 produced the first Hindu-Muslim-Sikh public unity in years – Shah Nawaz, Sehgal, Dhillon – and the first overt nationalist defence of armed action by Congress lawyers including Nehru. *Third*, the trials directly catalysed the RIN Mutiny of February 1946. *Fourth*, the INA flag, slogans (Jai Hind, Dilli Chalo) and anthem entered the everyday vocabulary of nationalism.

Conclusion. Independence was negotiated, but the negotiation was made

inevitable by the INA. Bose's martyrdom continues to shape Indian politics.

11.9 Quick Revision Sheet

CHAPTER 11 – BOSE / INA / RIN / TEBHAGA / TELANGANA | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Bose timeline: Cuttack 23 Jan 1897 → ICS 1920, resigned Apr 1921 → Cal Mayor 1924-27, Mandalay 1925-27 → Cong Pres Haripura 1938, Tripuri 1939 (defeated Pattabhi) → Forward Bloc 3 May 1939 → House arrest 1940 → Escape 17 Jan 1941 → Berlin 28 Mar 1941; Indian Legion; met Hitler 27 May 1942 → Submarine voyage 8 Feb-May 1943 → Singapore 4 Jul 1943, INA from Rashbehari Bose → Provisional Govt 21 Oct 1943, Rani Jhansi Regt Jul 1943 (Lakshmi Sehgal) → Moirang 14 Apr 1944 → Imphal-Kohima 1944 → Air crash Taihoku 18 Aug 1945 (disputed).

Slogans: Tum mujhe khoo do; Dilli Chalo; Jai Hind; Title "Netaji".

INA Trials: Red Fort, Nov 1945; Shah Nawaz, Sehgal, Dhillon; defence by Bhulabhai Desai, Nehru, Asaf Ali. Slogan "Lal Qila se aayi awaaz...". Mass demonstrations 11 Nov 1945, 21 Nov 1945.

RIN Mutiny: 18-23 Feb 1946; HMIS Talwar Bombay; M. S. Khan + Madan Singh; 78 ships, 20,000 ratings; Bombay textile strike 22 Feb (3 lakh); 220 killed; surrender 23 Feb on advice of Patel + Jinnah; CPI/Aruna for continuation.

Tebhaga 1946-47: Bengal; CPI; 2/3 share; Dinajpur-Rangpur; Bargadars Bill Mar 1947 (never enacted); legacy Operation Barga 1978.

Telangana 1946-51: Hyderabad; Andhra Mahasabha/CPI; Doddi Komaraya killing Jul 1946; 3,000 villages, 16,000 sq km, 10 lakh acres; Operation Polo Sept 1948; called off Oct 1951.

Tripura tag: Bose stayed Pushpabanta Palace; Moirang 14 Apr 1944 near Tripura border; Agartala airfield WWII Allied base; Bir Bikram KCIE 1934.

TOWARDS PARTITION: CRIPPS MISSION TO INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, 1947

Syllabus Mapping: Section A, Topic 12 -- Towards Partition: Cripps Mission to Indian Independence Act, 1947; Partition and Independence.

Why This Chapter Matters

This is the closing topic of Section A and a recurrent examiner favourite. The 2021 paper carried a 5-mark question on Patel's role in princely-state merger; 2023 carried a 5-mark question on movements between 1946 and 1947; 2019 carried an MCQ on Gandhi's "post-dated cheque" remark on the Cripps Mission. Direct 10-mark questions are due.

PYQ • Previous Year Question | 2019, 2021, 2023

- (2019, MCQ) "A post-dated cheque on a Crumbling Bank" – Gandhi on Cripps Mission.
- (2021, 5m) Write a short note on the role of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in

merger of Princely States with India.

- (2023, 5m) Write a short note on the various movements leading to partition and independence of India between 1946 and 1947.
- (2023, MCQ) Linlithgow presented the August Offer 1940.

12.1 Conceptual Introduction

The five years between the Cripps Mission (March 1942) and the Indian Independence Act (18 July 1947) compressed three concurrent processes: (i) the negotiated transfer of British power; (ii) the increasingly inevitable partition between India and Pakistan; and (iii) the integration of 562 princely states into one or the other dominion. Each was complete by August 1947 – and each carries consequences that the sub-continent has lived with ever since.

12.2 The Cripps Mission -- March--April 1942

12.2.1 Background

The Japanese had taken Singapore (15 February 1942), Malaya, and were poised to invade Burma. The British needed Indian wartime cooperation. The Cripps Mission, led by **Sir Stafford Cripps** (Labour member of Churchill's War Cabinet), arrived in India on 22 March 1942.

12.2.2 Cripps' Proposals

- Dominion Status to be granted to India after the war.
- Creation of a Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution.
- Provinces and Princely States to be allowed to “opt out” of the Indian Union – the explicit recognition of a possible partition.
- During the war, the British to retain full control; Indians to be given an expanded executive council.

12.2.3 Rejection

- **Congress:** Gandhi famously described it as “*a post-dated cheque on a crumbling bank*”. Nehru and Azad also rejected the proposal as inadequate.
- **Muslim League:** rejected – the opt-out clause did not explicitly create Pakistan.
- **Depressed Classes (Ambedkar):** rejected – no separate constitutional protection.

- **Sikh Akali Dal:** rejected.
- **Princes:** ambivalent.

12.2.4 Significance

The Cripps Mission's failure produced the **Quit India Movement** (Chapter 5) within four months. More importantly, the recognition of the possibility of provincial opt-out crystallised the political logic of partition.

12.3 Quit India to the Wavell Plan (1942--1945)

12.3.1 Wartime Years (1942--44)

- Quit India (August 1942) – Congress leadership imprisoned.
- C. Rajagopalachari resigned from Congress over its opposition to Pakistan; published the “C. R. Formula” (April 1944): the League accepts the Lahore Resolution in principle in return for League cooperation in the interim government.
- **Gandhi-Jinnah talks** (September 1944) at Jinnah House, Malabar Hill – broke down over which provinces would form Pakistan.
- Bengal Famine of 1943: 3 million dead; severe damage to the legitimacy of British administration.

12.3.2 Wavell Plan -- Simla Conference, June--July 1945

Viceroy **Lord Wavell** convened the Simla Conference (25 June – 14 July 1945) to discuss:

- Reconstitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council with Indian members of various parties.
- Equal representation of Hindus and Muslims.
- Indians to hold all portfolios except defence.

The Conference **collapsed** on Jinnah's demand that all Muslim nominees must be League nominees – effectively asserting the League as the sole representative of Indian Muslims. Wavell would not concede this point; Conference adjourned without agreement.

12.4 The 1945--46 Elections and the Cabinet Mission

12.4.1 Elections (December 1945 -- February 1946)

- Central Legislative Assembly: Congress 57 of 102 general seats; **Muslim League 30 of 30 reserved Muslim seats.**
- Provincial: Congress majorities in 8 provinces; League in Bengal and Sind; coalitions in Punjab (Unionist–Congress–Akali) and NWFP (Congress).
- The League's 100% sweep of reserved Muslim seats made partition politically inevitable.

12.4.2 Cabinet Mission Plan -- 16 May 1946

The Labour government in London (Attlee as PM after the July 1945 election) sent a three-member Cabinet Mission: **Pethick-Lawrence, Stafford Cripps, and A. V. Alexander.**

The Plan:

- A three-tier federation – provinces, groups, centre.
- Centre to control only three subjects: defence, foreign affairs, communications.
- Provinces grouped into three:
 - Group A: Madras, Bombay, UP, Bihar, Central Provinces, Orissa (Hindu-majority).
 - Group B: Punjab, NWFP, Sind (Muslim-majority West).
 - Group C: Bengal, Assam (Muslim-majority East).
- Constituent Assembly to draft constitution.
- Interim Government to be formed.

12.4.3 Acceptance & Withdrawal

- Both Congress and League initially accepted (June 1946).
- Congress later insisted that grouping was *optional* – a province could opt out of its group.
- League objected; on **29 JULY 1946** the League withdrew its acceptance and called for **Direct Action**.

12.5 The Interim Government and Direct Action (1946)

12.5.1 Direct Action Day -- 16 August 1946

The Calcutta Killings on 16–20 August 1946: 4,000+ dead in five days of communal violence, called by Suhrawardy's League ministry. The riots spread to Noakhali (Bengal, October), Bihar (October–November), Garhmukteshwar (UP, November), Punjab (March 1947).

12.5.2 Interim Government -- 2 September 1946

- Nehru as Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
- Initially Congress-only; the League joined on 26 October 1946, with **Liaquat Ali Khan** as Finance Minister.
- League ministers obstructed within the cabinet; the Interim Government barely functioned.

12.5.3 Constituent Assembly -- 9 December 1946

- First session opened 9 December 1946; Sachchidananda Sinha presided as temporary chairman; Rajendra Prasad elected permanent President on 11 December 1946.
- League boycotted the Assembly.
- Nehru moved the Objectives Resolution on 13 December 1946; adopted 22 January 1947.

12.6 The Final Phase -- February to August 1947

12.6.1 Attlee's Statement -- 20 February 1947

British Prime Minister Clement Attlee announced in the House of Commons that:

- British power would be transferred to “responsible Indian hands” by **June 1948 at the latest**.
- **Lord Mountbatten** would replace Wavell as Viceroy.

12.6.2 Mountbatten in India (March 1947)

Lord Louis Mountbatten arrived as Viceroy on 22 March 1947 and was sworn in on 24 March 1947. He undertook intense negotiations with Nehru, Patel, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Master Tara Singh.

12.6.3 Mountbatten Plan / 3 June Plan -- 3 June 1947

- Partition of India along communal lines.

- Bengal and Punjab to be partitioned along Hindu/Sikh-Muslim lines.
- NWFP and Sylhet district of Assam to hold referendums.
- Balochistan to decide via Shahi Jirga.
- Princely States to accede to one of the two dominions (or, technically, remain independent).
- Boundary commissions for Bengal and Punjab.
- Transfer of power on **15 August 1947**.

12.6.4 Indian Independence Act -- 18 July 1947

- Two independent Dominions of India and Pakistan from 15 August 1947.
- Lapse of British paramountcy over the princely states.
- Each Dominion's Constituent Assembly to be its sovereign legislature till a constitution was framed.
- Office of Secretary of State for India abolished.
- Provisions for division of armed forces and assets.

12.6.5 Referendums

- **NWFP referendum (6–17 July 1947)**: 50.9% turnout (Congress boycott); 99% of those voting opted for Pakistan.
- **Sylhet referendum (6–7 July 1947)**: Sylhet district of Assam voted 56.7% in favour of joining East Pakistan; transferred to East Pakistan. (*Crucial for Tripura geography.*)
- Balochistan's Shahi Jirga endorsed Pakistan.

12.6.6 Radcliffe Boundary Commission

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who had never visited India, chaired the Bengal and Punjab Boundary Commissions. He arrived 8 July 1947, submitted both boundary awards on 13 August 1947. The **Radcliffe Award** was made public on **17 AUGUST 1947** – two days after independence – intensifying chaos.

12.7 Independence and Partition -- 14--15 August 1947

- **14 August 1947 (midnight)** – Pakistan came into being. Jinnah as Governor-General; Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister.
- **15 August 1947 (midnight)** – India came into being. Mountbatten as Governor-General; Nehru as Prime Minister.

- Nehru's "Tryst with Destiny" address.
- Gandhi was at Beliaghata (Calcutta) on Independence Day, fasting for communal peace, not at the celebrations.

12.8 The Costs of Partition

- 10–15 million people displaced – the largest mass migration in human history at that time.
- Estimated 1–2 million killed in communal violence.
- Massive transfers of property, abducted women, refugee camps.
- Long-term consequences – Kashmir conflict (1947–48), three full-scale wars (1965, 1971, 1999), unresolved water and territorial disputes.

12.9 Integration of Princely States -- Sardar Patel's Role (2021 PYQ)

12.9.1 The Princely Problem

At independence there were **565 (or 562, sources vary) princely states** ranging from large entities (Hyderabad, Mysore, J&K, Travancore) to tiny estates of a few villages.

12.9.2 Patel as Home Minister

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Home Minister), with **V. P. Menon** (Secretary of the States Department), negotiated the integration through three instruments:

- **Instrument of Accession** (defence, foreign affairs, communications transferred to the Dominion).
- **Standstill Agreement** (continued existing administrative arrangements).
- **Merger Agreements** (full administrative merger into the new Indian polity).

By **15 AUGUST 1947** all princely states acceded to India or Pakistan *except*:

- **Junagadh** – Nawab acceded to Pakistan; population overwhelmingly Hindu; Indian army moved in November 1947; plebiscite confirmed accession to India (February 1948).
- **Hyderabad** – Nizam sought independence; Razakar paramilitaries; **Operation Polo** (Sept 13–18, 1948) integrated Hyderabad; 50,000+ killed in the violence.
- **Jammu & Kashmir** – Raja Hari Singh acceded to India (26 October 1947) after the Pakistani tribal invasion; Indian army entered Srinagar; Indo-Pak war 1947–

48; UN ceasefire 1 January 1949.

By 1949 all princely states had been integrated. Patel's role earned him the title *Iron Man of India*.

12.10 The Tripura Merger -- A Distinct Story

The Tripura merger is treated in full detail in **Chapter 16**. In summary: Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya died on 17 MAY 1947. His successor, Kirit Bikram Kishore Manikya, was a minor; **Maharani Kanchanprabha Devi** served as Regent. The state's political environment included the Tripura Rajya Mukti Parishad's pro-integration agitation, refugee pressure from East Pakistan, and revenue collapse from the Chakla Roshanabad lands now in East Pakistan.

Tripura Merger Agreement signed on 9 SEPTEMBER 1949 between Maharani Kanchanprabha Devi (as Regent) and V.P. Menon (for India); merger effective 15 OCTOBER 1949. Tripura became a Part-C state (Chief Commissioner's province).

12.11 Mains Enrichment Points

VALUE ADDITION

Quotations & slogans:

- "A post-dated cheque on a crumbling bank" – Gandhi on Cripps.
- "Pakistan is a moth-eaten and a truncated state" – Jinnah on the Mountbatten Plan, June 1947.
- "At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom." – Nehru, 14–15 August 1947.
- "If it is freedom that you want, take it tonight" – Mountbatten to Nehru, March 1947 (paraphrased).
- "*Vande Mataram*, *Inquilab Zindabad*, *Jai Hind*" – the three slogans that survived partition.

12.12 PYQ Model Answers

PYQ 2021 (5m) -- Patel's Role in the Merger of Princely States

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, as Home Minister and Minister of States in the Interim and Independent Governments, integrated 562 princely states into the Indian Union between 1947 and 1949.

Method: Patel and V.P. Menon (Secretary, States Department) employed three instruments – Instrument of Accession (defence, foreign affairs, communications); Standstill Agreement (continuity); Merger Agreement (full administrative integration). Persuasion, the rising tide of popular nationalism, and selective use of force completed the task.

Difficult cases: **Junagadh** – Nawab acceded to Pakistan; Indian Army action November 1947; plebiscite February 1948. **Hyderabad** – Nizam sought independence; Operation Polo, 13-18 September 1948. **Jammu & Kashmir** – Maharaja acceded to India on 26 October 1947; Indo-Pak war 1947-48. **Tripura** – Merger Agreement 9 September 1949 with Maharani Kanchanprabha Devi.

Significance: Patel's integration of the princely states preserved Indian territorial unity and prevented the Balkanisation that British paramountcy's lapse might have produced. The title *Iron Man of India* commemorates this achievement.

PYQ 2023 (5m) -- 1946-47 Movements towards Partition

MODEL ANSWER | 150 words

The eighteen months between mid-1946 and August 1947 saw four overlapping movements:

Cabinet Mission Plan (May 1946): three-tier federation; accepted by both Congress and League, then unravelled over compulsory grouping.

Direct Action Day (16 August 1946): Jinnah's call. Calcutta Killings (4,000+ dead), Noakhali (October), Bihar (October-November), Garhmukteshwar (November). Communal violence pre-empted constitutional politics.

Interim Government (2 September 1946): Nehru's government; League joined 26 October 1946; near-constant internal obstruction.

Attlee's Statement (20 Feb 1947) and Mountbatten Plan (3 June 1947): formal partition along Radcliffe Line.

Indian Independence Act (18 July 1947): two dominions; lapse of paramountcy.

Sylhet Referendum (6-7 July 1947): joined East Pakistan, geographically isolating Tripura.

The transfer of power on 14-15 August 1947 produced two dominions and

the largest mass migration in human history.

12.13 Sample & Practice Questions

1. Critically examine the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946. (10)
2. Discuss the causes of the partition of India. (10)
3. Evaluate the role of Mountbatten in the partition of India. (5)
4. Analyse Patel's contribution to the integration of princely states. (10)
5. "Partition was a tragedy of historical inevitability and political miscalculation." Discuss. (10)
6. Examine the Sylhet referendum and its consequences for Northeast India. (5)

12.14 Quick Revision Sheet

QUICK REVISION SHEET

CHAPTER 12 – TOWARDS PARTITION | ONE-PAGE REVISION

Cripps Mission Mar-Apr 1942: Stafford Cripps; Dominion status post-war, opt-out provincially. Gandhi: "post-dated cheque on a crumbling bank". All parties rejected.

Quit India 8-9 Aug 1942 → wartime years → **Bengal Famine 1943** (3m dead).

C. R. Formula Apr 1944 → **Gandhi-Jinnah talks Sep 1944** (broke down). **Wavell Plan / Simla Conf. 25 Jun - 14 Jul 1945:** broke down on Jinnah's demand.

Elections 1945-46: Congress 57/102 general seats; League 30/30 Muslim seats.

Cabinet Mission 16 May 1946 (Pethick-Lawrence, Cripps, Alexander): three-tier; Groups A/B/C; centre with three subjects. Initially accepted by both; League withdrew 29 Jul 1946.

Direct Action 16 Aug 1946 → **Calcutta Killings 4,000+; Noakhali Oct; Bihar Oct-Nov; Garhmukteshwar Nov.**

Interim Govt 2 Sep 1946: Nehru VP; League joined 26 Oct 1946 (Liaquat Finance).

Constituent Assembly 9 Dec 1946: Sachchidananda Sinha temp chair; Rajendra Prasad permanent; Nehru's Objectives Resolution 13 Dec 1946;

adopted 22 Jan 1947.

Attlee 20 Feb 1947 → Mountbatten 22 Mar 1947 → Mountbatten/3 June Plan 3 Jun 1947 → Indian Independence Act 18 Jul 1947.

Referendums: NWFP 6-17 Jul 1947 (Pakistan); Sylhet 6-7 Jul 1947 (East Pakistan – crucial for Tripura).

Radcliffe Award: announced 17 Aug 1947 (after independence).

Independence: Pakistan 14 Aug 1947 midnight; India 15 Aug 1947 midnight; Nehru “Tryst with Destiny”.

Costs: 10-15m displaced; 1-2m killed; Kashmir 1947-48 war.

Princely States: Patel + V.P. Menon; Instruments – Accession, Standstill, Merger. Difficult cases: Junagadh, Hyderabad (Operation Polo 13-18 Sep 1948), J&K (acceded 26 Oct 1947), Tripura (merger 9 Sep 1949 → 15 Oct 1949).

APPENDIX A: CONSOLIDATED MODERN-INDIA TIMELINE

Year	Event
1757	Battle of Plassey.
1761	First EIC contact with Tripura under Maharaja Krishna Manikya.
1765	Diwani of Bengal granted to the EIC.
1793	Permanent Settlement – Bengal.
1798–	Wellesley's Subsidiary Alliance.
1805	
1813	Charter Act.
1828	Brahmo Samaj.
1829	Abolition of Sati.
1835	Macauley's Minute on Education.
1838	Landholders' Society, Bengal.
1848–56	Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse.
1853	First railway (Bombay-Thane); first telegraph (Calcutta-Diamond Harbour).
1854	Wood's Despatch; Postal Service.
1856	Annexation of Awadh; General Service Enlistment Act; Hindu Widow Re-marriage Act.
1857	29 Mar Mangal Pandey at Barrackpore; 10 May Meerut mutiny; 11 May Bahadur Shah II proclaimed at Delhi.
1858	Government of India Act; Queen's Proclamation; Crown takes over.
1861	Indian Councils Act; Police Act; High Courts Act.
1862	Maharaja Bir Chandra Manikya accedes to Tripura throne.
1863	Jamatia Uprising in Tripura.
1866	East India Association, Dadabhai Naoroji.
1869	Foreign Jurisdiction Act – formalises paramountcy.
1875	Aligarh MAO College; Radhamohan Thakur's <i>Kokborokma</i> .
1876	Indian Association, S. N. Banerjee.
1878	Vernacular Press Act.

Year	Event
1881	<i>Tripura State Gazette</i> ; Tilak's <i>Kesari-Mahratta</i> .
1882	Birchandra Manikya's maiden letter to Tagore; Bankim's <i>Anandamath</i> .
1883	Indian National Conference (Calcutta); Ilbert Bill agitation.
1885	INC founded, Bombay, 28-31 December; W. C. Bonnerjee President; 72 delegates.
1887	Badruddin Tyabji – first Muslim INC President.
1888	British Committee of INC, London.
1892	Indian Councils Act.
1893	Tilak's Ganapati Festival; Gandhi sails to Durban.
1895	Tilak's Shivaji Festival.
1896	Radha Kishore Manikya accedes.
1897	Chapekar brothers assassinate Rand at Poona; plague famine.
1899–	Birsa Munda's Ulgulan.
1900	
1901	Naoroji's <i>Poverty and Un-British Rule in India</i> .
1903	Sri Narayana Guru's SNDP Yogam.
1904	Savarkar's Abhinav Bharat.
1905	Partition of Bengal (16 October); Swadeshi begins.
1906	AIML founded at Dacca (30 December); INC Calcutta Session – Swaraj; Bengal partition agitation.
1907	Surat Split of INC (27 December).
1908	Khudiram-Prafulla bomb at Muzaffarpur (30 April); Tilak's Mandalay sentence.
1909	Indian Councils Act (Morley-Minto); separate electorates; Savarkar's <i>Indian War of Independence</i> ; Birendra Kishore Manikya accedes.
1911	Bengal reunified; Capital moves to Delhi.
1912	Rashbehari Bose's bomb on Hardinge.
1913	Ghadar Party at Astoria, Oregon.
1914	Komagata Maru incident; WWI begins.
1915	Gandhi returns to India; Lahore Conspiracy.
1916	Home Rule Leagues; Lucknow Pact.
1917	Champaran; Annie Besant – first woman INC President.
1918	Ahmedabad Mill Strike; Kheda.
1919	Rowlatt Act; Jallianwala (13 April); Tagore returns knighthood.
1920	Khilafat-NCM; AITUC (Lala Lajpat Rai); CPI Tashkent.
1922	Chauri Chaura (5 Feb); NCM suspended.
1923	Swaraj Party; Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya accedes.
1925	CPI Kanpur Conference; Kakori Train Robbery; Sarojini Naidu – first Indian woman INC President.
1927	Simon Commission; Mahad Satyagraha; Tagore's last Tripura visit.
1928	Bardoli; Lala Lajpat Rai killed; Nehru Report.

Year	Event
1929	Bhagat Singh Assembly Bomb (8 April); Lahore Session – Purna Swaraj.
1930	Salt March (12 Mar-6 Apr); Chittagong Armoury Raid (18 April).
1931	Gandhi-Irwin Pact; Bhagat Singh-Rajguru-Sukhdev hanged (23 March); Bir Bikram's Tribal Reserve.
1932	Communal Award; Poona Pact (24 September).
1934	CSP founded; Surya Sen hanged.
1935	Government of India Act.
1936	All India Kisan Sabha; Independent Labour Party.
1937	First Provincial Elections.
1938	Bose at Haripura.
1939	Bose at Tripuri; Forward Bloc; WWII begins.
1940	Lahore Resolution; August Offer.
1941	Bose escapes to Berlin; Tagore dies.
1942	Cripps Mission; Quit India (8-9 August); Reang Uprising; Bir Bikram opens Agartala Aerodrome.
1943	Bengal Famine; INA reorganised; Rani Jhansi Regt.
1944	C. R. Formula; Gandhi-Jinnah talks; INA at Moirang (14 April).
1945	Janashiksha Samiti; INA trials; Simla Conference.
1946	Cabinet Mission; Direct Action Day (16 August); Tebhaga begins; Telangana begins.
1947	Indian Independence Act (18 July); 14-15 August Partition; Bir Bikram dies (17 May); Kanchanprabha Regent; Sylhet referendum (6-7 July).
1948	Operation Polo Hyderabad; Tripura Rajya Mukti Parishad.
1949	Tripura Merger Agreement (9 September; effective 15 October).
1950	Republic of India.
1951	CPI calls off Telangana struggle.

APPENDIX B:

GLOSSARY

A

Abhinav Bharat: Revolutionary secret society founded by V. D. Savarkar in Nasik, 1904.

Ahimsa: Non-violence; foundational principle of Gandhian satyagraha.

AITUC: All India Trade Union Congress, founded 31 October 1920 at Bombay; Lala Lajpat Rai first President.

Anushilan Samiti: Bengal revolutionary society, 1902.

August Offer: Linlithgow's 1940 proposal of Dominion status post-war.

B

Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha: Ambedkar's 1924 society for Dalit welfare.

Bhangar: Older alluvium with calcareous nodules (Kankar).

Bharat Bhaskar: Honorific conferred on Tagore by Maharaja Radha Kishore Manikya.

C

Cabinet Mission Plan: 16 May 1946, three-tier federation proposal.

Chakla Roshanabad: Manikya state's zamindari estates in plains Bengal.

Champaran Satyagraha: 1917, Gandhi's first Indian satyagraha (against tinkathia).

Chauri Chaura: 5 February 1922; mass violence; Gandhi suspended NCM.

Communal Award: 16 August 1932, Ramsay MacDonald; separate electorates for depressed classes.

CPI: Communist Party of India, founded in exile at Tashkent (17 October 1920); inside India at Kanpur Conference (December 1925).

Cripps Mission: March-April 1942 – Gandhi: "post-dated cheque".

D

Direct Action Day: 16 August 1946; Calcutta Killings.

Doctrine of Lapse: Dalhousie's policy 1848-56.

Drain of Wealth: Naoroji's theory of resource transfer from India to Britain.

E

Eighth Schedule: List of 22 scheduled languages of the Indian Constitution.

F

Forward Bloc: Subhas Bose's left platform within Congress, 3 May 1939.

Fourteen Points (Jinnah, 1929): Muslim League political manifesto.

G

Ghadar Party: North American revolutionary organisation, 15 July 1913.

General Service Enlistment Act, 1856: Required overseas service of new Bengal Army recruits.

H

HSRA: Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, 1928 (formerly HRA, 1924).

Home Rule Movement: 1916-18, Tilak (April 1916, Pune) and Annie Besant (September 1916, Madras).

I

INA: Indian National Army, founded under Mohan Singh in 1942; reorganised under Bose, July 1943.

INC: Indian National Congress, founded 28 December 1885, Bombay; W. C. Bonnerjee President.

Inam Commission: 1852 Bombay commission resuming rent-free tenures.

Instrument of Accession: Document by which princely state acceded to the Dominion of India.

J

Jamatia: Tripura tribal community; led the 1863 Uprising.

Jhum: Slash-and-burn shifting cultivation practiced by Tripura's tribal communities.

K

Kakori: HRA train robbery, 9 August 1925.

Khilafat: Indian Muslim movement (1919-24) against dismemberment of Ottoman Caliphate.

Komagata Maru: 1914 incident; Japanese steamship of Punjabi immigrants turned back from Vancouver.

Kokborok: Indigenous Tripuri-Bodo language of Tripura.

L

Lahore Resolution: 23 March 1940, Muslim League's "Pakistan Resolution".

Lucknow Pact: December 1916, Congress-League agreement.

M

Mahad Satyagraha: Ambedkar's 1927 movement for Mahar water access.

Manikya: The Tripura royal dynasty.

Meerut Conspiracy Case: 1929-33 trial of 31 communists.

Merger Agreement: Tripura signed 9 September 1949; effective 15 October 1949.

Mountbatten Plan: 3 June 1947, partition plan.

Mukti Parishad (Tripura Rajya): 1948 political body that supported merger with India.

N

Naqshbandi: Sufi silsila brought to India by Khwaja Baqi Billah.

Nehru Report: Motilal Nehru's 1928 All Parties Conference Report.

Non-Cooperation Movement: 1920-22, Gandhian mass movement.

O

Operation Polo: 13-18 September 1948 Indian Army action against Hyderabad.

P

Permanent Settlement: 1793, Cornwallis, fixed revenue on Bengal-Bihar-Orissa zamindars.

Pilak: 8th-12th c. Hindu-Buddhist archaeological site in South Tripura.

Poona Pact: 24 September 1932 agreement between Gandhi and Ambedkar.

Q

Quit India Movement: 1942 mass movement; “Do or Die”.

R

Radha Kishore Manikya: Maharaja of Tripura 1896-1909; Tagore’s closest royal friend.

Rajmala: Bengali-verse chronicle of the Manikya kings.

Reang: Tripura’s second-largest tribal community (Bru).

RIN Mutiny: 18-23 February 1946.

S

Salt March: Dandi March, 12 March-6 April 1930.

Satyagraha: Gandhi’s method of non-violent civil disobedience.

Subaltern Studies: Historiographical project from 1982 (Ranajit Guha).

Subsidiary Alliance: Wellesley’s 1798-1805 system.

Surat Split: 27 December 1907; INC Moderate-Extremist split.

Swaraj: Self-rule; political goal of the Indian national movement.

Swadeshi: Self-reliance movement after Bengal Partition 1905.

T

Tebhaga: 1946-47 sharecropper movement in Bengal demanding two-thirds share.

Telangana: 1946-51 armed peasant struggle in Hyderabad State.

Tripureshwari: Tripura Sundari Temple at Udaipur; one of 51 Shakti Peethas.

Two-Nation Theory: Jinnah’s Lahore 1940 doctrine.

U

Ulgulan: Birsa Munda’s 1899-1900 tribal uprising in Chotanagpur.

Unakoti: 7th-9th c. rock-cut Shaiva site in North Tripura.

V

Vaikom Satyagraha: 1924-25 movement for temple access in Travancore.

Vernacular Press Act: 1878, Lytton; repealed 1882 by Ripon.

Y

Yandabo, Treaty of: 1826 treaty ending First Anglo-Burmese War.

Yugantar: Bengal revolutionary journal and group (1906).

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APPENDIX D: MODEL TEST PAPER I -- SECTION A

TCS / TPS MAIN | GS PAPER-II | SECTION A – MODEL TEST I
Marks: 50 | Time: 60 minutes (suggested)

Part 1 -- MCQs (1 mark × 10)

1. Who founded the Bombay Mill Hands' Association (1890)?
(a) Sasipada Banerjee (b) N. M. Lokhande (c) B. P. Wadia (d) Lala Lajpat Rai
2. The author of *Anandamath* is
(a) Tagore (b) Bankim Chandra (c) Sarat Chandra (d) Madhusudan Dutt
3. The Indian National Conference was first convened in
(a) Calcutta 1883 (b) Bombay 1885 (c) Madras 1885 (d) Poona 1884
4. Who delivered the August Offer in 1940?
(a) Wavell (b) Linlithgow (c) Cripps (d) Mountbatten
5. "Saare jahan se achha" was composed by
(a) Iqbal (b) Tagore (c) Bankim (d) Nazrul Islam
6. The first conference of the INC was held on
(a) 28 December 1885, Bombay (b) 26 January 1885, Calcutta
(c) 28 December 1886, Calcutta (d) 1 January 1886, Madras
7. Who was the first President of the AITUC (1920)?
(a) N. M. Joshi (b) Diwan Chaman Lall (c) Lala Lajpat Rai (d) Joseph Baptista
8. The bomb on Viceroy Hardinge at Delhi (1912) was thrown by
(a) Khudiram Bose (b) Rashbehari Bose (c) Bhagat Singh (d) Surya Sen
9. The Tripura King during the Revolt of 1857 was
(a) Bir Chandra Manikya (b) Ishan Chandra Manikya (c) Krishna Manikya
(d) Bahadur Manikya
10. "Inquilab Zindabad" is associated with
(a) Bhagat Singh (b) Subhas Bose (c) Tilak (d) Lala Lajpat Rai

Part 2 -- Short Answers (5 marks × 4)

1. Discuss the role of socio-religious reform movements in the rise of Indian nationalism.
2. Examine the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and its significance.
3. Discuss the role of women in the Civil Disobedience Movement.
4. Trace the contribution of the Press to 19th-century Indian nationalism.

Part 3 -- Long Answers (10 marks × 2)

5. Critically analyse the historiographical debate on the character of the Revolt of 1857.
6. Discuss the contribution of Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army to the freedom struggle.

Answer Key (MCQs)

1-b, 2-b, 3-a, 4-b, 5-a, 6-a, 7-c, 8-b, 9-b, 10-a.

APPENDIX E: MODEL TEST PAPER II -- SECTION A

TCS / TPS MAIN | GS PAPER-II | SECTION A – MODEL TEST II
Marks: 50 | Time: 60 minutes (suggested)

Part 1 -- MCQs (1 mark × 10)

1. *Hind Swaraj* (1909) was written by
(a) Tagore (b) M. K. Gandhi (c) V. D. Savarkar (d) S. N. Banerjee
2. The Surat Split of the INC took place in
(a) 1905 (b) 1906 (c) 1907 (d) 1909
3. The Poona Pact (1932) was signed between
(a) Gandhi and Bose (b) Gandhi and Jinnah (c) Gandhi and Ambedkar (d) Nehru and Jinnah
4. “Ulgulan” was started by
(a) Birsa Munda (b) Damodar Chapekar (c) Sri Ram Bajpai (d) Bal Gangadhar Tilak
5. The first Indian woman President of the INC was
(a) Annie Besant (b) Sarojini Naidu (c) Vijayalakshmi Pandit (d) Aruna Asaf Ali
6. The Tripura Merger Agreement of 1949 contains
(a) 7 articles (b) 8 articles (c) 9 articles (d) 10 articles
7. Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya was awarded the KCIE in
(a) 1932 (b) 1934 (c) 1942 (d) 1947
8. The Indian National Army was originally founded under the leadership of
(a) Subhas Chandra Bose (b) Rashbehari Bose (c) Mohan Singh (d) Pritam Singh
9. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was passed during the Viceroyalty of
(a) Curzon (b) Ripon (c) Lytton (d) Mayo
10. Who said “Swaraj is my birthright”?
(a) Tilak (b) Gokhale (c) Lala Lajpat Rai (d) Bipin Chandra Pal

Part 2 -- Short Answers (5 marks × 4)

1. Discuss the contribution of the Home Rule Movement to Indian nationalism.
2. Examine the impact of the Partition of Bengal (1905) on Indian politics.
3. Trace the role of Sardar Patel in the integration of princely states.
4. Discuss the contribution of Sri Narayana Guru to the Dalit movement.

Part 3 -- Long Answers (10 marks × 2)

5. "The Moderates laid the foundations of Indian nationalism; the Extremists popularised it." Discuss.
6. Trace the evolution of the Muslim League from 1906 to 1940.

Answer Key (MCQs)

1-b, 2-c, 3-c, 4-a, 5-b, 6-c, 7-b, 8-c, 9-c, 10-a.

APPENDIX F: MODEL TEST PAPER III -- SECTION A

TCS / TPS MAIN | GS PAPER-II | SECTION A – MODEL TEST III
Marks: 50 | Time: 60 minutes (suggested)

Part 1 -- MCQs (1 mark × 10)

1. The Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 was led by
(a) Cripps, Pethick-Lawrence and Alexander (b) Mountbatten and Wavell
(c) Atlee and Cripps (d) Pethick-Lawrence and Atlee
2. “Quit India” was launched by the AICC on
(a) 8 August 1942 (b) 9 August 1942 (c) 15 August 1942 (d) 28 January 1942
3. Khudiram Bose’s bomb at Muzaffarpur was thrown on
(a) 8 April 1908 (b) 30 April 1908 (c) 11 August 1908 (d) 29 March 1857
4. The Communal Award (1932) was announced by
(a) Ramsay MacDonald (b) Mountbatten (c) Linlithgow (d) Curzon
5. The Forward Bloc was founded on
(a) 1 January 1939 (b) 3 May 1939 (c) 26 January 1930 (d) 26 January 1949
6. The first session of AITUC (October 1920) was held at
(a) Bombay (b) Calcutta (c) Madras (d) Lahore
7. The Tripura Rajya Mukti Parishad was formed in
(a) 1945 (b) 1947 (c) 1948 (d) 1949
8. The Indus Waters Treaty was signed between India and Pakistan in
(a) 1947 (b) 1960 (c) 1965 (d) 1971
9. The Mahad Satyagraha of 1927 was led by
(a) Phule (b) Periyar (c) Ambedkar (d) Shahu Maharaj
10. “Do or Die” (Kareng Ya Mareng) was Gandhi’s slogan for
(a) Non-Cooperation (b) Civil Disobedience (c) Quit India (d) Salt March

Part 2 -- Short Answers (5 marks × 4)

1. Examine the role of Bhagat Singh in Indian nationalism.
2. Trace the development of the All India Kisan Sabha.
3. Discuss the contribution of Annie Besant to the freedom struggle.
4. Examine the views of different political parties on the Tebhaga Movement.

Part 3 -- Long Answers (10 marks × 2)

5. Critically evaluate the Cabinet Mission Plan and its eventual failure.
6. Trace the circumstances leading to the armed peasant uprising in Telangana (1946-51) and assess its significance.

Answer Key (MCQs)

1-a, 2-a, 3-b, 4-a, 5-b, 6-a, 7-c, 8-b, 9-c, 10-c.

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